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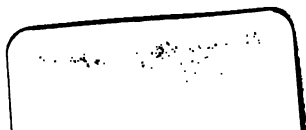




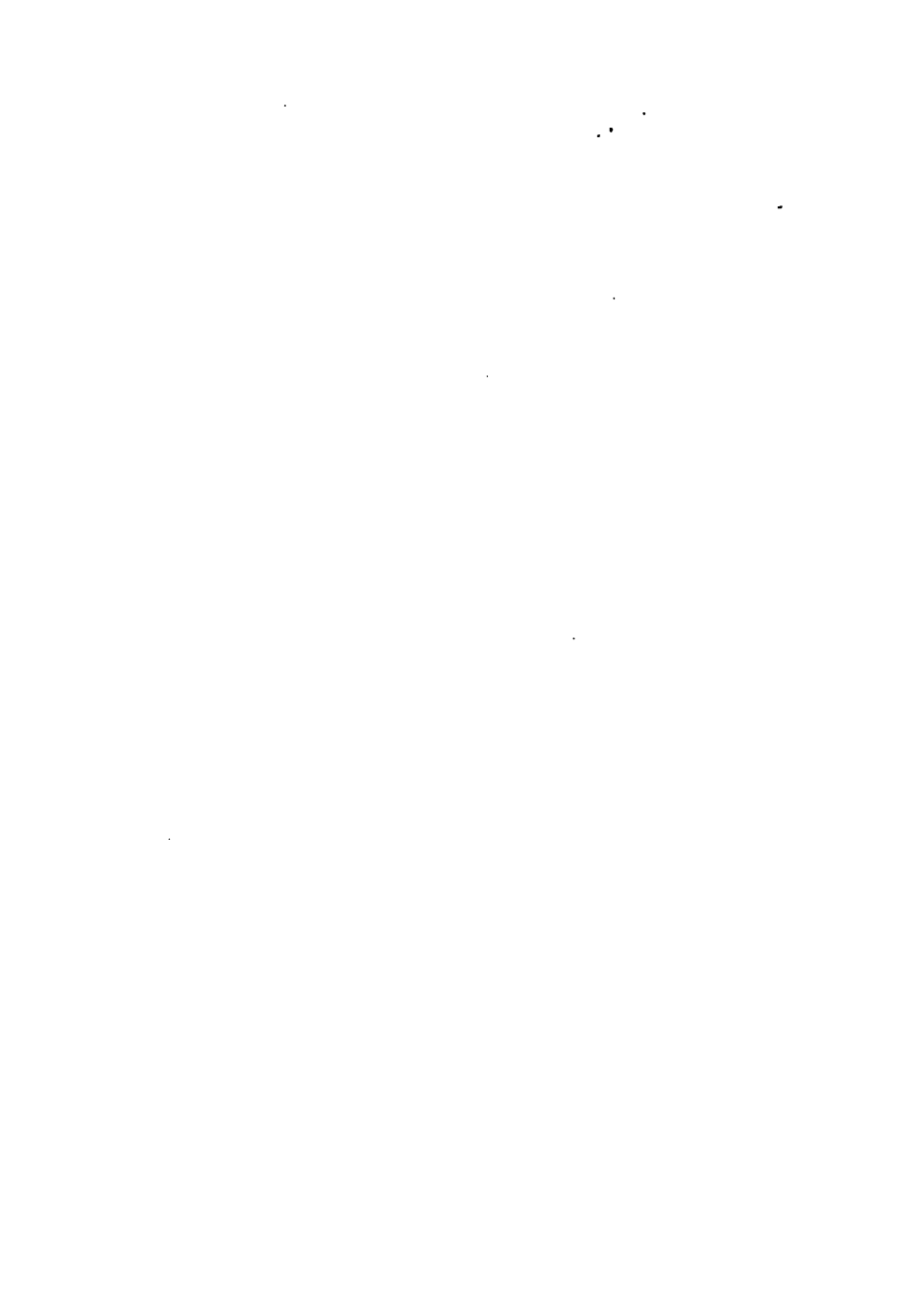
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Principal Features of the Argentine.

HISTORY
OF
THE INQUISITION,
FROM ITS ESTABLISHMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME.
WITH
AN ACCOUNT OF ITS PROCEDURE,
AND
NARRATIVES OF ITS VICTIMS.

LONDON :
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PREFACE.

THE necessity for the publication of a work, of moderate extent, on the History of the Inquisition, has for some years been so evident, that a justification of the issue of this volume will scarcely be required. It may, however, be stated, that the works of the greatest authority on the subject have for a long time been out of print; that the most important information has been accessible to the student only in a very scattered form; and that the cost of the various works necessary to enable him to become fairly acquainted with the History of the Inquisition has proved, in too many instances, an almost insurmountable difficulty in his way. It may be added that much recent information has been of necessity wanting in the histories previously published.

In this volume it is hoped that all these diffi-

culties have been overcome. The more important events have been related; the most interesting narratives of those imprisoned by the holy office have been collected, from a variety of sources, and inserted; and the latest information on the subject has been included.

In a work of this extent, it has not been deemed necessary to quote, in every instance, the source whence the information has been derived, it being considered preferable here to state that the principal authorities consulted or quoted have been Llorente, Limborch, Puigblanch, Father Paul, Geddes, Mariana, Giannone, Baker, Gonsalvus Montanus, Salgado, Piazza, Gavin, Lavallee, Hurd, Buchanan, Lithgow, Dellon, Bower, Mendonca, Coustos, Blanco White, and Van Halen. Besides these, many of the older authorities, as well as many anonymous works on the subject, have been consulted; and where the words of any of these have been considered appropriate, no hesitation has been felt in using them.

In conclusion, the author would remark that brevity and clearness have been studied, in preference to elegance of style; and that throughout the

volume he has endeavoured to divest himself of partiality;—with what success, his readers must determine.

LIVERPOOL,
NOVEMBER, 1849.

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HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION.

CHAPTER I.

It has been usual with those who have written on the history of the Inquisition, to commence their works by adducing proofs from the Scriptures that persecution for holding certain religious opinions is contrary alike to the practice and precepts of our Saviour; and have shewn that it was discouraged and denounced by many of the fathers of the church. At the present time, when civilization has made, and is making, such rapid strides, and when the number of religious sects has increased so enormously, and is still increasing, it is unnecessary to waste time in an attempt to prove that of which the more enlightened of the community are already convinced, namely, that as we would claim for ourselves full liberty to hold and propagate our religious opinions, so should we grant to all others the like liberty. While it is a subject of congratulation that the principles of toleration have become so universally recognised, and *almost* universally acted upon, it may be doubted whether the practice of toleration has yet

arrived at such a pitch of refinement as it is yet destined to reach. When we look back on the days of persecution by the Papal power, and trace the gradual destruction of that power so eminent for its bigotry and deceit, we may not unreasonably expect that a few hundred years hence the practice of toleration will bear the same relation to that of the present day, as that of the present day bears to the toleration practised during the palmy days of the Inquisition. And we may fairly hope, that in the good time coming, the sectarianism of various religious bodies will be so far annihilated, as to allow them to unite heartily in effecting one common good;—an effort which has not been sufficiently made in the present day.

One of the most interesting, as well as most instructive lessons which history can afford, is to be derived from the history of the Inquisition; an institution which arose from small beginnings, and whose tendency and ultimate power were not at the time foreseen. Bad as were the intentions with which it was established, those intentions have been very far exceeded by its real acts; and during its eventful history it has undergone many changes; sometimes being subjected to reverses; at other times being as fully and destructively occupied as its most ardent defenders could wish. Its first officers knew nothing of the proceedings of judicial tribunals, and therefore modelled it in a manner peculiarly their own, singularly neglecting all those practices of straightforward and plain dealing which characterised civil tribunals; at the same time that, in order to

extort confession, they made use of tortures, the ingenuity of which was so creditable, and the cruelty of which was so disgraceful, to the age.

In giving an account of this iniquitous tribunal, however, we must in fairness recollect that its founders and supporters must be tried by the intelligence of the age in which they lived, not by that of the nineteenth century; while, on the other hand, we must not fail to observe, that the Scriptures, which ought to have been to them an infallible guide, were shamefully neglected by them, and their use prohibited to the people. Bearing these things in mind, it shall be our endeavour to do full justice to all whom we may have occasion to name, blaming none without cause, making no statement which shall appear to rest on doubtful authority, and carefully eschewing exaggeration, which, we are aware, in every case tends to damage the cause it was intended to promote.

The Church of Rome is a most singular and fatal instance of the gradual usurpation and concentration of power; in tracing which we find that, owing probably to the prominency of St. Peter among the apostles, his see was to some extent looked up to, and the various christian societies throughout the Roman empire, during the primitive age, were wont to shew some degree of respect for, and deference to, the Church of Rome. But it is clear that the opinions and dogmas of the Church of Rome were not at that time considered infallible, and that the Asiatic and other churches opposed its doctrines on various occasions. When, however, the civil govern-

ment recognised Christianity, the Bishop of Rome was allowed a certain precedence of all the other prelates of the empire, partly owing to the cause already mentioned, partly because Rome was the seat of government. Although its supremacy had undoubtedly been to some extent owing to this fact, yet, on the seat of government being removed (A. D. 328,) to Byzantium, or Constantinople, the pretensions of the see of Rome were favoured. It was now no longer under the eye of the emperor, and it took care to increase its power.

By the subsequent invasion of the Italian provinces, and the fall of the western empire, the Popes had their influence extended as their rivals lost their power. No advance which they made was in itself great, but the aggregate increase in their power was enormous; a result which was to some extent produced by the supremacy of the church of Rome being duly impressed on the barbarians who now began to settle in Italy, and by those barbarians being converted in large numbers to the Christian faith. Gregory the great, who became Pope A. D. 590, continued to add to the power of his church, by carrying out on a vast scale that system of converting the heathen, which, although in a more limited degree, had been commenced by his predecessors; and it was during his reign that the inhabitants of Britain were converted. Another means of extending his influence consisted in his managing to connect the monastic orders with his own see, by releasing them from the immediate

jurisdiction of their diocesans; and Boniface III., in 606, assumed the title of Universal Bishop.

But that which above all other causes tended to increase the power and wealth of the Roman Pontiffs, was the transfer by Pepin, king of France, to Stephen III., in 756, of the Italian provinces, which the former had conquered from the Lombards. The territory so transferred to the temporal dominion of the Popes was afterwards enlarged, by the addition of Rome itself, by Charlemagne. From that time to the present, that territory has continued, with little alteration of its boundaries, to be the "temporal patrimony of St. Peter."

A new feature now began to be introduced by the popes. The breaking up, in the ninth century, of the empire lately governed by Charlemagne, afforded them an opportunity of interfering in the temporal affairs of that prince's successors. These interferences, during the pontificate of Gregory VII., resolved themselves into an attempt to subject the whole of the crowned heads of christendom to the feudal control of the Roman see. Henry IV., emperor of Germany, resisted this usurpation on the part of Gregory, and succeeded in depriving him of his pontifical chair, in which he placed Guibert, archbishop of Ravenna, who assumed the title of Clement III., in whom, however, Henry afterwards recognised precisely the same right to which Gregory had laid claim, by accepting his crown from Clement's hands!

Within our prescribed limits, it would be im-

possible to enumerate the various means by which the church of Rome extended its influence. One of these, however, must be named, as being of great importance, from the results which it produced. We refer to the power which it assumed of excommunicating those who in any way violated its commands, or resisted its authority. While nearly all the Christian community were attached to the court of Rome, excommunication was one of the most fearful punishments which could be inflicted, as well from the great power of the pope, as from the peculiar nature of the Roman Catholic religion, and its infliction rarely failed in compelling the stray sheep to return to the fold.

It happened, however, that after the year 1100, the pretensions of the popes increased to such an extent, and their claims assumed such a political character, that resistance began to be offered to their mandates. Excommunication was as usual put in force; but as enquiries began now to be made as to the origin and nature of the powers usurped by the Roman see, and as it was found that they had been gradually increasing, and infolding more and more the whole civilised world within its grasp, this weapon of the papacy also was disregarded. Two sects, called the Albigenses and Waldenses, both of which are asserted to have been in existence for several centuries previous to this period, now became of importance, the former about the year 1160, in Albegeois, in Languedoc, the latter about the year 1200, in Narbonne and Provence. Besides the two we have mentioned, many smaller and less impor-

tant sects arose, and combined to oppose the corruptions of the church of Rome. Though differing in minor respects, they were, however, generally agreed in one, namely, "*that the public and established religion was a motley system of errors and superstitions, and that the dominion which the Popes had usurped over Christians, as also the authority they exercised in religious matters, were unlawful and tyrannical.*" In 1163, and again in 1179, Alexander III., published two decrees, in which he prohibited all good catholics from giving any assistance to, or reception of, "*the heretics.*" In 1193, Innocent III., who had just ascended the pontifical throne, sent Guy and Regnier, two monks of Citeaux, into Narbonne, to enquire into and punish the heresies which were so increasing. In the following year, Regnier and Peter of Castelnau were sent into Narbonne on a similar mission, and succeeded in partially extirpating heresy, and in making themselves detested by all who witnessed their fiery zeal, arrogance, and cruelty. A quarrel having occurred between the legate (Peter of Castelnau) and Raymond VI., count of Toulouse, in 1207, in consequence of the latter refusing to sanction the proposed invasion of his territories for the extirpation of heresy, Castelnau excommunicated Raymond, and this audacious act was immediately confirmed by the Pope. Castelnau having been afterwards assassinated, Innocent furiously called upon the neighbouring powers to invade the disaffected territories of Raymond; and as the property of the heretics was sure to reward the *valour* of the cru-

saders, and as, moreover, the service of each was limited to forty days, no difficulty was found in raising a large army to make war on the harmless Albigenses. Arnold, Abbot of Citeaux, the head and director of the crusade, being the personal enemy of Raymond, the latter, who had previously become alarmed, and had made submission to the enraged pontiff, now appealed to the Pope, saying, "*It would be unjust to profit by my submission to deliver me to the mercy of a man who would listen only to his resentment against me.*" Innocent, with an appearance of justice, appointed a new legate, Milon, his secretary, but informed him that he must only be the organ of Arnold, who must be allowed to do everything. This fact will give us no very exalted idea of the fair dealing of Innocent III.; nor will our opinion of him be raised when we learn that, in reference to the submission of Raymond, he wrote to Arnold, "*We counsel you, with the Apostle Paul, to employ guile with regard to this count, for in this case it ought to be called prudence. We must attack, separately, those who are separated from unity; leave for a time the Count of Toulouse, employing towards him a wise dissimulation, that the other heretics may be the more easily defeated, and that afterwards we may crush him when he shall be left alone.*" Commenting on this perfidy, Sismondi observes, "*We cannot but remark, that whenever ambitious and perfidious priests had any disgraceful orders to communicate, they never failed to pervert for this purpose some passages of the Holy Scriptures; one would say that*

they had only studied the Bible to make sacrilegious applications of it."

It may here be mentioned, that previous to the crusaders commencing their march, Innocent instituted a new order of preaching friars, the Dominicans, (a name which they derived from Dominic, their first head,) whose duty it should be to preach the faith, and hold controversial discussions in the villages of the disaffected districts; and by an exhibition of Christian charity to obtain such information respecting heretics as should enable them to seize and burn them when opportunity should offer. Such was the commencement of the order of the Dominicans, and such the duty to which Dominic, its founder, and the first (so called) Inquisitor, was appointed. As we shall have to say more of them hereafter, we shall for the present leave them.

In 1209, the crusaders marched on the devoted province of Languedoc. In numbers, those well appointed amounted, on the most reasonable computation, to fifty thousand, which, however, will not include a rabble, armed with scythes and clubs, who, as they could not fight the knights of Languedoc, consoled themselves with the reflection that they might at least massacre the defenceless women and children of the heretics. We have said that Raymond, of Toulouse, had submitted to the Pope; he now joined the army, which was about to march against the inhabitants of *his own* estates and those of his nephew, Raymond, Count of Beziers, who appears to have possessed much more moral dignity and courage than his uncle could lay claim to.

The Count of Beziers, desirous of preventing bloodshed, made overtures of peace to the legate, who haughtily rejected them, with an intimation that what the Count had to do was to defend himself as well as he could, for no mercy would be shewn him. The Count took the advice, and energetically adopted measures for the defence of his territory. But his efforts were unavailing. The city of Beziers was taken, and the inhabitants who had fled for refuge to the churches were mercilessly put to the sword. In the church of the Magdalen alone, seven thousand dead bodies are said to have been found. The total number destroyed was stated by Arnold to be about fifteen thousand; but other and more disinterested authorities state it to have been between thirty-eight and sixty thousand. Arnold being asked, how the Catholics were to be distinguished from the heretics, is said to have replied, "*Kill them all; the Lord will know well who are his.*" When every human being found in the city had been put to death, and the available property secured, the city was set on fire in different parts, and was shortly reduced to ashes.

Carcassonne, to which the Count of Beziers had retired, was now attacked. It was most gallantly defended, but want of provisions and water made the count desirous of honourably capitulating. The terms offered by Arnold were so monstrous, that they were at once refused, and the attack on the city was recommenced, with little advantage resulting to the assailants. As the forty days to which the services of the crusaders were limited would now

shortly expire, Arnold became alarmed lest his army should leave him before he had time to subdue the heretics. He therefore reopened his negotiations with the Count of Beziers, who, thinking that all difficulties in the way of a settlement might be removed if he were to confer personally with Arnold, begged a safe conduct to the camp of the crusaders. This being obtained from the legate and from the leaders of the army, and their promises confirmed by oath, Raymond and a train of three hundred knights entrusted themselves to the honour of the fanatics, and were rewarded by being perfidiously arrested, and handed over to the care of Simon de Montfort. Such treachery, so far from having the desired effect of compelling the inhabitants of the city to surrender, induced them to vacate it by stratagem. They were acquainted with a subterraneous passage, three leagues in length, leading from the town, and took advantage of it to escape during the night, to the great astonishment of the invaders, who next morning could hardly believe that the city was untenanted. Arnold, it would seem, could not bear that a report of his being so circumvented should obtain credence. He therefore gave out that on the day on which the city was vacated, he had signed a capitulation, by which the inhabitants had been allowed to leave it. And, that it might not be supposed that all the heretics had escaped him, he collected together prisoners whom he had taken in the fields,—fugitives from Carcassonne who had been overtaken, and the knights who had been so perfidiously arrested; from these he made a selection

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of four hundred and fifty, of whom he burned alive four hundred and hanged fifty.

It is not our intention to describe the further progress of the crusades of which these cruelties were but a commencement. Suffice it to say that "hundreds of villages had seen all their inhabitants massacred with a blind fury, and without the crusaders giving themselves the trouble to examine whether they contained a single heretic. We cannot tell what credit to give to the numbers assigned for the armies of the cross, nor whether we may believe that in the course of a single year five hundred thousand men were poured into Languedoc. But this we certainly know, that armies, much superior in numbers, much inferior in discipline, to those which were employed in other wars, had arrived for seven or eight successive years [this refers to the first seven or eight years of the crusades], almost without interruption, upon this desolated country; that they entered it without pay, and without magazines; that they provided for all their necessities with the sword; that they considered it as their right to live at the expense of the country, and that all the harvests of the peasants, all the provisions and merchandise of the citizens, were on every occasion seized with a rapacious hand, and divided at discretion amongst the crusaders. No calculation can ascertain with any precision the dissipation of wealth, or the destruction of human life, which were the consequences of the crusade against the Albigenses. There was scarcely a peasant who did not reckon in his family some unhappy one, whose life had been

cut off by the sword of Montfort's soldiers; not one but had repeatedly witnessed the ravaging of his property by them. More than three quarters of the knights and landed proprietors had been spoiled of their castles and fiefs, to gratify some of the French soldiers,—some of Simon de Montfort's creatures. Thus spoiled, they were named *Faidits*, and had the favour granted them of remaining in the country, provided they were neither heretics, nor excommunicated, nor suspected of having given an asylum to those who were so; but they were never to be permitted to enter a walled city, nor to enjoy the honour of mounting a war horse. Every species of injustice, all kinds of affronts, persecutions of every name, had been heaped on the heads of the unhappy Languedocians, whom, since the crusade, it had been the custom to comprehend under the general name of *Albigenses*.* Such was the treatment to which the inhabitants of Languedoc were subjected, previous to the establishment of the Inquisition.

We have already mentioned the establishment of the order of Dominican friars, and we now purpose giving some account of its founder. Dominic de Guzman was a native of Calarogo, in Spain, and was born in the year 1170. While travelling through Languedoc, he beheld the progress which heresy was making, and, deeply grieved, he requested and obtained permission of the Pope to join those who were attempting to preach it down. His fiery zeal in defence of the faith, and the cruelty which

* Sismondi.

he showed during the wars shortly afterwards carried on against the Albigenses, soon made him conspicuous among the preachers. His duty in the first instance was limited to preaching, conversion, and the denunciation of obstinate heretics to the bishops, who at that time possessed the power of inflicting punishment. The bishops, however, being either unable or unwilling to persecute with such rigour as Dominic considered necessary, the idea of establishing a separate tribunal for the punishment of heresy appears to have occurred to him. Having, in the course of his preaching in Languedoc, performed a few pious miracles, and added to his reputation by establishing, with the consent of the Pope, the order of Dominicans, of which he was the first general, he appears to have made suggestions to the Pope respecting such a tribunal, and he was actually invested with the title of Inquisitor. It has been matter of dispute whether or not Dominic *was* an inquisitor. In our opinion, both sides are right and both wrong, according to the meaning which is attached to the word inquisitor. At the period of which we speak, an inquisitor was one who was commissioned to enquire into the number and quality of the heretics, the nature of their tenets, &c., and to denounce them to the proper authorities. In *this* sense Dominic *was* an inquisitor. At a later period, an inquisitor was an officer of the tribunal of the Inquisition, whose duty it was, not only to enquire into heresies, *but to punish them*. In *this* sense, Dominic was *not* an inquisitor, for the very good reason that such a tribunal was not properly in

existence till several years after his death, which occurred in 1221. His energy and zeal in defence of the power of the popedom had been such as to induce Gregory IX. to canonise him, in 1234.

At the Council of Toulouse, in 1229, it was determined to establish such a tribunal as had been contemplated by Dominic. Though it was intended that this court should not exceed the powers of punishment already vested in the bishops, it very soon, by falling into the hands of the Dominicans, assumed an independence, and exercised an influence, which was surprising. By shewing a becoming deference to the Popes, it got rid of the control of the bishops, as well as of the secular powers; for it was easily perceived that an engine of such power ought to be left as free to act as possible. In its establishment, several difficulties arose. In the first place, the inquisitors, in the performance of their duties, were compelled to encroach on the power of the bishops, to whom had previously been entrusted the punishment of heretics. To disarm the bishops of their opposition, the Pope ordered that they and the inquisitors should act jointly; but this privilege was more nominal than real, as the inquisitors had other rights which enabled them to act independently of the bishops. In the second place, the secular powers objected to the condemnation of the heretics by the Inquisition, probably for the reason that the property of criminals was previously forfeited to the state, whereas now it would be appropriated by the Church of Rome. To avoid this difficulty, therefore, the Pope decreed that the inquisitors and bishops

should condemn, that the magistrates should execute the sentence, and that one-third of the property of the accused should be appropriated by the state; out of which one-third, however, the state had to defray all the expense of prisons and the salaries of the lower officers, as well as the cost of carrying the sentences into execution. In addition to this, the secular power had the right to appoint the subordinate officers of the tribunal; but this nomination was subject to the confirmation of the inquisitors.

The first inquisitors being totally ignorant of judicial matters, and unacquainted with the procedure of any other tribunal than that called in the Roman church the "Tribunal of Penance," modelled the Court of the Inquisition after it as much as possible; but in time their experience led them to modify their first plans, and to adopt more effectual measures for carrying out their intentions, and for increasing the pomp and magnificence of the court over which they presided. Thus arose a system of procedure, different from that adopted in civil cases in the countries where the Inquisition became established, as well as from that pursued in ecclesiastical cases.

In order to second the efforts of their emissaries, the pontiffs took care to desire the temporal princes to support them with the aid of their secular power, in all their endeavours to extirpate heresy; and so well were the wishes of the Popes responded to in this respect, that in a short time no one, even of the most unblemished character and the greatest piety, could consider himself safe from being cruelly

put to death, if he should happen not to have obtained the favour of the inquisitors. All these powerful influences were, however, incapable of preventing the occasional outburst of the public indignation at the treacherous and cruel conduct of the merciless judges, who appeared utterly incapable of entertaining one generous feeling, or of doing aught beyond persecuting and exterminating the human species. In many places they were grossly insulted while walking the streets; from others they were expelled; and in some instances they were actually seized, and murdered, by the infuriated populace. Despite these drawbacks, however, the tribunal progressed and thrived, the immense power, spiritual and temporal, by which it was supported rendering resistance almost useless.

It is impossible to ascertain now, with any precision, what was the procedure of the primitive Inquisition, or what the number of victims who fell into its hands. With respect to its procedure, it was of course subjected to constant change, until experience had enabled the inquisitors to frame rules for its conduct, and to these we shall devote a future chapter. As regards the number of its victims, we may remark that the pontiffs no doubt considered it so satisfactory (as much, perhaps, in a pecuniary as in a spiritual point of view), that they were induced for many years to strain every nerve, not only to support and perpetuate those tribunals already in existence, but to extend their influence, and to establish others in countries which hitherto had been happily strangers to them.

Llorente asserts that the Inquisition was established in Italy, under the fostering care of the Dominicans, in 1224, but it is difficult to test the accuracy of this statement. It is probable, however, that it was in existence there in 1231, for in that year, several Waldenses being found in Rome, some were committed to the flames, while others were imprisoned until they should confess their errors. But it is quite possible that the trial of these unfortunates may have been by a commission direct from the Pope, and that the existence of the Inquisition in Italy dated a year or two later. It must, however, have been introduced previous to 1233, as in that year, John of Vicenza, a Dominican monk, sent by the Pope to convert heretics, celebrated his labours by judging and condemning sixty of the sect calling themselves *Cathari*, or *the purified*. And in the following year, 1234, the inhabitants of Placentia expelled Friar Rowland, the inquisitor of that city.

The unfortunate Waldenses and Albigenses, hunted from their homes and country, sought refuge principally in Italy and Spain, and their flight led to the extension of the Inquisition, and to its establishment wherever they could be found. In 1232, it having been found that many of them were located in Arragon, Gregory IX. commissioned the Archbishop of Tarragona to appoint inquisitors against the heretics. This, we believe, was the commencement of the tribunal in Spain.

In 1234, the remains of the Albigenses in France appear to have for a short time successfully excited the population to resistance to the Inquisition, in

consequence of which Gregory called on Louis for further exertions against them. The tribunal was in the same year introduced into Toulouse, amid considerable tumult, but was expelled in the year following, only to be more firmly re-established between that time and 1238.

The further increase in the number of heretics led to the establishment of the tribunal in various directions. For a time they considered themselves safe from its clutches, but the fearful scourge followed them wherever they went, and found resting-places at Milan in 1252, at Geneva in 1255, in Castile and Leon in 1255, in Sardinia in 1285, in Palestine and Syria (where it lasted a few years) in 1290, in Servia in 1291, in Vienne and Albona in 1292, in France generally in 1255, and in Poland in 1327. In other places it was also established, and a net-work was thus spread over every corner where the persecuted precursors of the Reformation were likely to hide their heads, rendering escape next to impossible.

The date of its introduction into Venice is rather uncertain, but it was most probably in 1249. In this city, and the Venetian territory, its character was considerably modified. Instead of being first established by the Papal power, it was erected by the inhabitants themselves, or the government. Many fugitives having retreated to Venice, to avoid the molestation of the inquisitors in other places, "the magistrates of that city," says Limborch, "to prevent it being polluted with foreign doctrines, chose certain men, honest, prudent, and zealous for

the Catholic faith, who should observe and enquire out heretics." These inquisitors (if they can be properly so called,) were principally the bishops, whose decrees and sentences, however, required the sanction of the secular power before they could be carried into effect. The difference between the powers thus vested by the government in the bishops, and those which the bishops previously possessed, was very slight, and tended rather to protect the accused than otherwise; except in the case of condemnation to death by fire, which was an extreme to which the ecclesiastical authorities had not ventured previous to the establishment of the Inquisition. We may be sure that the comparative mildness of the Venetian Inquisition, and its total dependence on the state, were anything but palatable to the Church of Rome; and remonstrances were for many years forwarded by the Popes, but for a long time without effect.* At length Pope Nicholas IV., in 1289, succeeded in introducing the Popish tribunal, and in virtually abolishing that previously existing; but the permission was granted only on the conditions "that the Duke alone should have power to give aid to the inquisitors to exercise their office," and that a separate treasury should be established, superintended by state officers, who

* Father Paul observes, "Notwithstanding the instant requests of Pope Innocent, Alexander, Urban, and Clement, and seven other Popes, their successors, the most renowned commonwealth could never be persuaded to receive the office of Friars Inquisitors, instituted by the Pope. The secular sufficed it, instituted by itself, and brought forth good fruit for God's service."

should receive all sums relating to the tribunal, and, after disbursing the necessary expenses, account for the balance to the state. This balance must have been very considerable, if we may judge by the anxiety of the pontiff to have the treasury in the hands of his servants. In 1301, Friar Anthony endeavoured to prevail on Duke Peter Gradenigro to bind himself by an oath to "observe the pontifical and imperial laws against heretics;" but he declined binding himself further than he had already done, which was to the same extent as his predecessors had been bound. And such was the jealousy of the Venetians of the pontifical attempts at universal dominion, that they steadily persevered in their determination to have trials for heresy conducted with at least some degree of justice. The inquisitors could not proceed in a case without the civil magistrate being present; or if they ventured to do so, the civil magistrate caused the trial to be commenced *de novo*. In addition to this check, it was provided that neither the process nor the accused party should be sent out of the Venetian dominions without the consent of the Prince; in illustration of which, Father Paul relates the case of one Ludovico Petrucci, who, in 1596, was imprisoned at Padua for heresy. Instead of the Roman inquisitor sending his proof to Padua, and having the case tried there, he required that the prisoner should be sent to him. The senate, on principle, refused to comply with the demand. A fierce paper war, which lasted five years, ensued; at the end of which time, the Roman see ordered

the prisoner's release; from which it was shrewdly suspected that the proofs against him must have been slender indeed, the release of prisoners on such terms not being a practice to which the pontiff or his assistants were much addicted. In another matter, too, the Venetian government was prudent: it did not allow the inquisitors the power of prohibiting books within the territory.*

In the year 1285, a sect called the Apostolics, who had, since 1260, arisen in the neighbourhood of Parma and Novara, attracted the attention of Honorius IV., then Pope; and he, in that year, and his successor, Nicholas IV., in 1290, condemned them for holding heretical opinions. Sagarelli, one of the leaders, was tried, condemned, and burnt, in 1300. Dulcinus, another leader, with about six thousand followers of both sexes, inhabited the Alps, and succeeded in gaining so many adherents, during two or three years, that Clement V. sent inquisitors among them, either to convert, or to obtain information as to their belief. Their report being unfavourable, a crusade against them

* One circumstance gives us a very unfavorable impression of the fair dealing of the Venetian inquisitors. It is, that boxes, called Lions' mouths from their shape, were hung up in various parts of the city; and into these, the keys of which were entrusted to the inquisitors, denunciations could be flung by any one.—Our readers must be informed, however, that there were two Inquisitions at Venice, one being the Popish, the other the State Inquisition: the two must not be confounded. The narrative of Casanova, who escaped from the prison of the latter court, is very interesting, and will be found in his memoirs. That portion of his narrative is also to be found in the *North American Review*, vol. 41, page 54.

was preached, and an army gathered, which fell suddenly on the unprepared Apostolics, and totally routed them. Many were slain, others died of hunger and exposure, some were taken prisoners and afterwards burnt: among them, their leader, Dulcinus, who, with his wife, ended his life eight years after Sagarelli's execution. The tenets of this sect were somewhat peculiar: they, of course, denied the supremacy of the Pope; insisted on freedom of thought; possessed no property, even in common; refused to take an oath, being contrary to scripture; and preferred celibacy to wedlock, although each had a spiritual sister with him. In addition to their other peculiarities, they wore long beards, which gave them an extravagant and savage appearance. They have been charged with having wives in common; but this was expressly denied by Peter Lucensis, (one of those tried with Dulcinus,) although he admitted many charges, proving that he and his sect held heretical opinions.

In pursuance of the policy which had been adopted by previous pontiffs, Clement V. determined to abolish the order of the Templars. This association, as our readers are doubtless aware, consisted of knights, who banded themselves together, in the twelfth century, for the protection of pilgrims to Palestine, subsequently for the protection of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, and who afterwards entered France, Italy, and England. In the time of Clement the bulk of their property was in France, which may be the reason why King Philip accused them of heresy, and called in the aid of

the Pope to effect their overthrow. In 1307, their Grand Master, de Molai, was arrested, along with as many more of the order as hands could be laid on. In 1311, at the Council of Vienne, the order was abolished; and in the same year nearly sixty of those previously arrested were condemned, on confessions obtained by unscrupulous means, and were burnt. Molai, with some others of the order, was detained in prison till 1313, when their trial took place before the Pope's commissioners. In anticipation of their immediate release, (whether under the torture or not does not appear,) they acknowledged the crimes with which they were charged, and were condemned to perpetual seclusion. They afterwards retracted, and were burnt at Paris as relapsed heretics, in 1314, affirming at the stake their innocence.* There can be little doubt of the gross immorality of which the members of the order were guilty, and of the benefit conferred on society by their suppression; at the same time, their crimes were not of a nature to deserve the punishment of the stake. The estates and other property of the Templars were mostly secured by the sovereigns of the countries in which

* It is said that Clement was present, with Philip, at the execution of Molai; and that, on the Grand Master passing the window where they were stationed, he cried—"Being not permitted to appeal to another tribunal for my defence, you Clement, the unmerciful tyrant, and you King Philip,—I cite you both, within a year and a day, before the just tribunal of God: there I shall expose the innocency of my cause." It is a singular fact that they both died within the year.

they were situated; the largest shares, however, falling to Philip of France and Clement V.

About the same time, the Lollards and Beguins, or Beghards, as well as several other minor sects, were condemned by the Pope, and many of their number were consigned to the flames, in various places, by the instrumentality of the Inquisition. Want of space prevents us alluding to them more at length.

The attacks made on the papacy by Wickliff, and afterwards by Huss, sorely exasperated the Pope, the result being that the latter was called upon to appear before the Council of Constance in 1414. In spite of a guarantee of safe conduct granted him by Sigismund, Emperor of Bohemia, Huss was condemned and burnt, in 1415. This was the occasion of the restoration of the Inquisition in Bohemia, it having fallen into disuse; and it now shewed a vigour evidently unimpaired by its previous inactivity. The cruelties practised on the poor wretches who became subjected to its power were frightful. Some *heretics*, that they might uninterruptedly exercise their religion, retired to a stony mountain (near Prague), round which they built a stone wall, determining to defend their position by arms in the event of their being attacked. The emissaries of the Pope persecuted this people to such an extent, that on a number of them falling into their hands, they were cast into deep mines, a punishment previously inflicted only on the worst malefactors. It is credibly related that in one year (1420) there were cast into one mine, near Guttensburg, 1700 persons; into

another mine, 1038; and into a third, 1334; being a sacrifice of 4072 lives in one year in one district alone! The same authority states that, in the same year, a merchant of Prague named Krassa, having occasion to visit Preslau on business, on arriving at his inn, was led into a dispute respecting Huss, whom he strongly defended. He was imprisoned for this, as well as on a charge of having taken the eucharist in both kinds, and was tried and condemned. Refusing to recant, he was tied to horses, dragged through the town, and, more dead than alive, was then burnt. The following year, the chief magistrate of the city of Litomericia, "a cruel and deceitful man," wishful to ingratiate himself with the Pope, caused twenty-four of the chief citizens to be apprehended on a charge of heresy, and among them the husband of his own daughter. They were imprisoned in a high tower till almost dead of hunger and cold, and were then brought out to receive sentence of immediate death by drowning in the river Albis; a sentence which the magistrate himself pronounced on them, regardless of the tears and supplications of his daughter. The condemned were carried in carts to the river, into which they were plunged, bound hand and foot, so that they had little chance of escape. Many officers stood on the banks, armed with iron forks and poles, watching that none should escape, and mercilessly stabbing those whose dying agonies enabled them nearly to reach the margin. The magistrate's daughter, having failed in obtaining her husband's life from her father's mercy, plunged into the river that she might

help him to escape, in which design she failed. Next morning, husband and wife were found in the river dead, the arms of the latter clasped round her husband's body. A tailor, named Wenceslaus, was in the same year shut up in a tub and burnt, at Prague, for having dishonoured the sacrament. Martin Loans and Procopius Jednook, while travelling through Moravia, were apprehended and confined by the pastor of Stradisch, for holding heretical opinions respecting the sacrament. During their confinement, they were tortured by fire till their bowels protruded, which having no effect in compelling them to recant, they were finally burnt.

These are a few instances, such as the records of the time afford us, of the persecutions to which those were subjected who dared to form opinions for themselves. In subsequent parts of the volume we shall relate other cases, not more atrocious, perhaps, than those we have already given, but more interesting, from their authenticity being better ascertained, as well as from their greater circumstantiality. In the meantime we shall give some account of the rise and progress of the Spanish Inquisition, and of the various methods of proceeding against heretics and other offenders.

CHAPTER II.

IT has been already stated that the first accounts of the introduction of the Inquisition into Spain date from 1232, in which year Gregory IX. caused enquiries to be made concerning heretics, and at the same time empowered the Archbishop of Tarragona and his suffragans to appoint inquisitors to proceed against them, many members of the persecuted sects having fled to Arragon and its neighbourhood. Spain was at this time divided into four Christian kingdoms, namely, *Castile*, *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Portugal*. Ferdinand III. ruled in Castile; James I. in Arragon; Sancho VIII. (who died in 1234) in Navarre; and Sancho II. in Portugal. The Dominicans had extended themselves to these kingdoms soon after their establishment, and had now become the principal and most influential order. To them, then, did the Popes entrust the establishment and control of the Inquisition in Spain. In 1254, Innocent IV. extended the rights of the inquisitors, and decreed that they should consider the depositions of witnesses valid, although their names might be unknown. In the discharge of their duties, the inquisitors were protected, not only by the Popes, who successively increased their powers and privileges, but also by the princes of the states in which

they were established. This protection indeed would seem to have been absolutely necessary, since the hatred of the Spaniards was at first so inveterate against them, and all connected with the Holy Tribunal, that many of the officers were assassinated. One of these, Peter of Verona, was canonised by the Pope, and the others had the honours of martyrdom assigned to them.

In 1302, several *autos da fe* were celebrated in Arragon, by Father Bernard, Inquisitor of that kingdom. The persecutions of the Templars, which we have already described, extended to Castile and Portugal, and many of the order were arrested. From this time till the year 1350, although nothing of moment occurred, yet the Inquisition was by no means idle; many heretics were condemned to banishment, others to the flames; and, in 1325, King James of Arragon, his sons, and two bishops, honoured with their presence one of those inhuman spectacles—an *auto da fe*. In 1350, many of the sect called Beghards were discovered in Spain; most of them were reconciled to the church, their leader, Jaques Juste, being condemned to perpetual imprisonment. Three of the sect having died impenitent, their bones were disinterred, and burnt.

Nicholas Eymerick became Inquisitor of Arragon, in 1356, and composed a work, entitled “The Guide of Inquisitors,” which contained minute details of his own judgment and those of the other inquisitors of Arragon. From this time till Isabella ascended the throne, in 1474, many local Inquisitions were established, chiefly at the request of the sovereigns

of the various states ; it having previously been customary for inquisitors, or their substitutes, to make periodical visitations throughout their districts, and hold courts of enquiry.

The history of the modern Inquisition of Spain dates from the commencement of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. Having arrived at this period, we shall, before we go further, extract from Llorente some account of the government and course of proceeding of the old Inquisition.

“ Although the Popes, in establishing the Inquisition, had only proposed to punish the crime of heresy, yet the inquisitors were commissioned to pursue those Christians who were only suspected, because it was the only means of discovering those who were really guilty. There were many crimes which came under the jurisdiction of a civil judge, which the Popes considered no one could be guilty of without being tainted with a false doctrine, and, although they were pursued by secular tribunals, the inquisitors were enjoined to consider the accused as suspected of heresy, and to proceed against them in order to ascertain if they committed these crimes from the depravity natural to man, or from the idea that they were not criminal ; which opinion caused a suspicion that their doctrine was erroneous. A species of blasphemy, which was called heretical, belonged to this class of crimes ; it was committed against God or his saints, and showed in the offender erroneous opinions of the omniscience or other attributes of the Deity. It rendered the blasphemers liable to be suspected of heresy, as the

inquisitor might consider it a proof that his habitual thoughts were contrary to the faith.

“The second species of crime which caused a suspicion of heresy was sorcery and divination. If the offenders only made use of natural and simple means of discovering the future, such as counting the lines in the palm of the hand, they came under the jurisdiction of a civil judge; but all sorcerers were liable to be punished for heresy by the Inquisition, if they baptised a dead person, re-baptised an infant, made use of holy water, the consecrated host, the oil of extreme unction, or other things which proved contempt or abuse of the sacraments and the mysteries of religion.

“The same suspicion affected those who addressed themselves to demons in their superstitious practices. A third species of crime was the invocation of demons. Nicholas Eymerick informs us that, in his office of inquisitor, he had procured and burnt, after having read them, two books which treated of that subject; they both contained an account of the power of demons, and of the mode of worshipping them. The same author adds, that in his time, a great number of trials for this crime took place in Catalonia, and that many of the accused had gone so far as to worship Satan, with all the signs, ceremonies, and words of the Catholic religion.

“A fourth sort of crime, which caused suspicion of heresy, was, to remain a year or longer excommunicated, without seeking absolution, or performing the penance which had been imposed. The Popes

affirmed that no Catholic, irreproachable in his faith, could live with so much indifference under the censure of the Church.

"Schism was the sixth case where heresy was suspected; it may exist either without heresy or with it. To the first class belong all schismatics who admit the articles of the faith, but deny the authority of the Pope as head of the Catholic Church and vicar of Jesus Christ. The second is composed of those who hold the same opinions as the first, and also refuse to believe in some of the articles; such as the Greeks, who hold that the Holy Ghost proceeds only from the Father, and not from the Son.

"The Inquisition also proceeded against concealers, favourers, and adherents of heretics, as being suspected of professing the same opinions. The seventh class was composed of all those who opposed the Inquisition, and prevented the inquisitors from exercising their functions.

"The eighth class comprehended those nobles who refused to take an oath to drive the heretics from their states. The ninth class consisted of governors of kingdoms, provinces, and towns, who did not defend the Church against heretics, when they were required by the Inquisition. The tenth class comprised those who refused to repeal the statutes in force in towns and cities, when they were contrary to the measures decreed by the holy office. The eleventh class of suspected persons embraced all lawyers, notaries, and other persons belonging to the law, who assisted heretics by their

advice, or concealed papers, records, or other writings, which might make their errors, dwellings, or stations known. In the twelfth class of suspected were those persons who had given ecclesiastical sepulture to known heretics. Those who refused to take an oath in the trials of heretics, when they were required to do it, were also liable to suspicion. The fourteenth class were deceased persons, who had been denounced as heretics. The Popes, in order to make heresy more odious, had decreed that the bodies of dead heretics should be disinterred and burnt, their property confiscated, and their memory pronounced infamous. The same suspicion fell upon writings which contained heretical doctrines, or which might lead to them. Lastly, the Jews and Moors were considered as subject to the holy office, when they engaged Catholics to embrace their faith, either by their writings or discourse.

“Although all the persons guilty of the crimes above mentioned were under the jurisdiction of the holy office, yet the Pope, his legates, nuncios, officers, and familiars, were exempt, and if any of these were denounced as heretics, the Inquisition could only take the secret information and refer it to the Pope. Bishops were also exempt, but kings had not that privilege.

“As the bishops were the ordinary inquisitors by divine right, it seems just that they should have had the power of receiving informations, and proceeding against the apostolical inquisitors in matters of faith, but the Pope rendered his delegates inde-

pendent, by decreeing that none but an apostolical inquisitor could proceed against another. The inquisitor and the bishop acted together, but each had the right of pursuing heretics separately; the orders for imprisonment could only be issued by both together, and if they did not accord, they referred to the Pope. The inquisitors could require the assistance of secular power in the exercise of their authority, and it could not be refused, without incurring the punishment of excommunication and suspicion of heresy. The bishop was obliged to lend his house for the prisoners; besides this, the inquisitors had a particular prison to secure the persons of the accused.

“The first inquisitors had no fixed salary: the holy office was founded on devotion and zeal for the faith; its members were almost all monks, who had made a vow of poverty, and the priests who were associated in their labours were generally canons, or provided with benefices. But when the inquisitors began to make journeys, accompanied by recorders, alguazils, and an armed force, the Pope decreed that all their expenses should be defrayed by the bishops, on the pretence that the inquisitors laboured for the destruction of heresy in their dioceses. This measure displeased the bishops, still more as they were deprived of part of their authority. The expenses of the Inquisition were afterwards defrayed by the fines and confiscations of the condemned heretics: these resources were the only funds of the holy office; it never possessed any fixed revenue.

“When a priest was appointed an inquisitor by

the Pope, or by a delegate of the holy see, he wrote to the king, who issued a royal mandate to all the tribunals of the towns where the inquisitor would pass to perform his office, commanding them, on pain of the most severe penalties, to arrest all the persons whom he should mark as heretics, or suspected of heresy, and to execute the judgments passed upon them. The same order obliged the magistrates to furnish the inquisitor and his attendants with a lodging, and to protect them from insult and every inconvenience. When the inquisitor arrived at the town where he intended to enter upon his office, he officially informed the magistrate, and required his attendance, fixing the time and place.

“The commander of the town presented himself before the delegate, and took an oath to put in force all the laws against heretics. If the officer or magistrate refused to obey, the inquisitor excommunicated him; if he made no difficulty, the inquisitor appointed a day for the people to meet in the church, when he preached, and read an edict, which commanded that all informations should be given within a certain period. The inquisitor afterwards declared, that all who should voluntarily confess themselves heretics should receive absolution and be subjected to a slight penance, but that those who should be denounced should be proceeded against with severity.

“If any accusations took place during the interval, they were registered, but did not take effect until it was known that the accused would not come voluntarily before the tribunal. After the expiration

of the period allowed, the informer was summoned; he was told that there were three ways of proceeding to discover the truth—accusation, information, and inquisition; and was asked to which he gave the preference. If he chose the first, he was invited to accuse the denounced person; but, at the same time, to consider that he was subject to the law of retaliation, if he was found to be a calumniator. This manner of proceeding was adopted by very few persons; the greater number declared that fear of the punishments with which the holy office menaced those who did not inform against heretics was the cause of their appearance, and they desired that their information might be kept secret, on account of the danger they incurred of being assassinated if they were known.

“The inquisitor interrogated the witnesses, assisted by the recorder and two priests, who were commissioned to observe if the declarations were faithfully taken down, and to be present when they were read to the witnesses, who were then asked if they acknowledged all that was read to them. If the crime, or suspicion of heresy, was proved in the information, the criminal was arrested, and taken to the ecclesiastical prison. After his arrest, he was examined, and his answers compared with the testimony of the witnesses. If the accused confessed himself guilty of one heresy, it was in vain for him to assert that he was innocent of the others; he was not permitted to defend himself, because his crime was proved. He was asked if he would abjure the heresy of which he confessed himself guilty. If he

consented, he was reconciled, and the canonical penance was imposed on him, with some other punishments; if he refused, he was declared an obstinate heretic, and was delivered up to secular justice, with a copy of his sentence.

“If the accused denied the charge, and undertook to defend himself, a copy of the process was given to him, but without the names of the accusers or the witnesses, and with every circumstance omitted which might lead to their discovery.

“The accused was asked if he had enemies, and if he knew their motives for hating him. He was also permitted to declare that he suspected any particular person of wishing to ruin him. In either case the proof was admitted, and the inquisitor considered it in passing judgment. The inquisitor sometimes asked the accused if he knew certain persons; these individuals were the accusers and witnesses: if he replied in the negative, he could not afterwards challenge them as enemies. In the course of time, every one concluded that these persons were the accusers and the witnesses, and the custom was abandoned. The accused person was also permitted to appeal to the Pope, who rejected or admitted his appeal, according to the rules of justice. There was no regular proceeding before the Inquisition, and the judges did not fix a time to establish the proof of the facts. After the replies and the defence of the accused, the inquisitor and the bishop of the diocese, or their delegates, proceeded to pass sentence without any other formalities. If the accused denied the charges, although he was

convicted or strongly suspected, he was tortured to force him to confess his crime; or if it was thought that there was no necessity for it, the judges proceeded to pass the final sentence.

"If the crime imputed to the accused was not proved, he was acquitted, and a copy of the declaration was given to him, but the name of his accuser was not communicated. If he had been calumniated, he was obliged to clear himself publicly by the canonical method, in the town where it had taken place; he afterwards abjured all heresy, and received the absolution *ad cautelam** for all the censures which he had incurred. In order to proportion the punishment to the suspicion, it was divided into three degrees, named *slight*, *serious*, and *violent*.

"The person who was declared to be suspected, though in the least degree, was called upon to renounce all heresies, and particularly that of which he was suspected. If he consented, he was reconciled, and was subjected to punishments and penances; if he refused, he was excommunicated; and if he did not demand absolution or promise to abjure after the space of one year, he was considered as an obstinate heretic, and proceeded against as such. If the accused was a formal heretic, willing to abjure, and not guilty of having relapsed, he was reconciled with penances.

"A person was considered as relapsed who had already been condemned, or *violently* suspected of

* "The absolution *ad cautelam* is that granted by inquisitors to persons who have been suspected of heresy."

the same errors. The abjurations were made in the place where the inquisitor resided; sometimes in the episcopal palace, in the convent of the Dominicans, or in the house of the inquisitor, but most generally in the churches. The Sunday before this ceremony, the day on which it was to take place was announced in all the churches of the town, and the inhabitants were requested to attend the sermon, which would be preached by the inquisitor against heresy. On the appointed day the clergy and the people assembled round a scaffold, where the person *slightly suspected* stood bareheaded, that he might be seen by every one. The mass was performed, and the inquisitor preached against the particular heresy which was the cause of the ceremony; he announced that the person on the scaffold was slightly suspected of having fallen into it, and read the process to the people; he concluded by saying that the culprit was ready to abjure. A cross and a bible were given to the offender, who read his abjuration, and signed it, if he could write. The inquisitor then gave him absolution, and imposed upon him those penances which were thought most useful.

“When the suspicion of heresy was *violent*, the *auto da fé* took place on a Sunday, or festival day, and all the other churches were closed, that the concourse of people might be greater in that where the ceremony was to be performed. The offender was warned, not only to be a good catholic for the future, but to conduct himself in such a manner as not to be accused a second time; as, if he relapsed, he would suffer capital punishment, although he

might abjure and be reconciled. If the offender was suspected in the highest degree, he was treated as a heretic, and wore the habit of a penitent during the ceremony; it was composed of brown stuff, with a scapulary, which had two yellow crosses fastened on it.

“If the suspected person was to clear himself from calumny by the canonical method, the ceremony was also announced before it took place, and he was obliged to take an oath that he was not an heretic, and to produce twelve witnesses, who had known him for the last ten years, to swear that they believed his affirmation to be true. He then abjured all heresies.

“If the accused was repentant, and demanded to be reconciled after having relapsed, he was to be delivered over to secular justice, and was destined to suffer capital punishment. The inquisitors, after having passed judgment on him, engaged some priests, who were in their confidence, to inform him of his situation, and induce him to demand the sacrament of penance and the communion. When these ministers had passed two or three days with the prisoner, an *auto da fé* was announced; the sentence was read which delivered the culprit over to secular justice, and recommended the judges to treat him with humanity.

“If the accused was an impenitent heretic, he was condemned, but the *auto da fé* was never celebrated until every means had been tried to convert him; if he was obstinate, he was delivered up to the justice of the king, and burnt. If the unfortunate heretic had relapsed, it was in vain for him to return

to the true faith; he could not avoid death, and the only favour shewn him was, that he was first strangled, and afterwards burnt. Those who escaped from the prisons, or fled to avoid being arrested, were burnt in effigy.

“The tribunal of the Inquisition, being ecclesiastical, had originally only the power of inflicting spiritual punishments; but the laws of the emperors during the fourth and following centuries, and other circumstances, caused the inquisitors of the thirteenth century to assume the right of imposing punishments entirely temporal, except that of death. The sentence of the Inquisition imposed a variety of fines and personal penalties, such as entire or partial confiscation [of property]; perpetual, or a limited period of imprisonment; exile or transportation; infamy, and the loss of employments, honours, and dignities. Those persons who abjured as *seriously suspected* of heresy, were condemned to be imprisoned for a certain time, proportioned to the degree of suspicion. If the accused was *violently suspected*, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but the inquisitor had the power of mitigating the sentence, if he judged that the prisoner repented sincerely. If the abjurer had been a *formal* heretic, he was imprisoned for life; and the inquisitor had not the power of shortening the duration of the punishment.

“Among the punishments to which heretics were condemned, must be enumerated that of wearing the habit of a penitent, known in Spain under the name of *San Benito*, which is a corruption of *saco bendito*. Its real name in Spanish was *Zamarra*. The first

became the common name, because the penitential habit was called *sac* in the Jewish history.

“Before the thirteenth century, it was the custom to bless the *sac* which was worn in a public penance, and hence it derived the epithet of *bendito* (blessed). It was a close tunic, made like the cassock of a priest, with crosses of a different colour affixed to the breast. St. Dominic and the other inquisitors caused the *reconciled heretics* to wear these crosses, as a protection against the catholics, who massacred all known heretics, although they might be unarmed. The *reconciled heretics* wore two crosses, to distinguish them from pure catholics, who only wore one, as crusaders.”

Previous to the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Jews settled in Spain had, by energy and industry, raised themselves not only to great wealth, but also to many of the highest offices of the state; and many of them were celebrated for their learning. Since the time when they are first known to have settled in Spain, they had been subjected to continual insult and injury on account of their religion: laws of the most unequal character, as regarded Christians on the one hand and Jews on the other, had been enacted, and many of them, to avoid the annoyance and loss to which they were thus subjected, *professed* to change their religion, and nominally became Christians. We say *professed*, for we have heard it asserted by an eminent Jewish divine, now living, that under no circumstances of difficulty or oppression did a Jew ever, *in reality*, change his religion, or become converted. Their *nominal* con-

version, then, admitted them to the society of the Christians, (which privilege they did not possess while professing Judaism;) and as many of the Jews, on the one hand, were *then*, as *now*, characterised by a great love of making money, and as many of the ancient Spanish nobility, on the other hand, were sadly in want of that commodity, many alliances took place between converted Jewish and Christian families, the former receiving a portion of nobility in exchange for the money bags which the latter so much required.

In course of time, the observance of the ceremonies of the Christian religion becoming irksome, the Jews by little and little neglected them, and at last openly re-adopted the forms and ceremonies of their own mode of worship. The bigotry of the Christians became roused, and the unfortunate Israelites were again and again persecuted. Their native energy of character, however, enabled them repeatedly to triumph over their difficulties, until, at length, on the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, and the consequent union of the Spanish states in one monarchy, the protection which had hitherto frequently been afforded them by the princes of the states in which they resided was withdrawn, and a persecution took place, disgraceful to the age, as well as to the country and those who governed it.

As to the part which Ferdinand took in this persecution, historians are pretty well agreed. He was married to a woman who was far superior to him in her religious feelings, gentleness, and huma-

nity. Had he listened to her in the first instance, instead of giving way to his feeling of bigotry and a desire to stock his treasury, the infliction of much misery would have been avoided, and a reign already glorious would have had additional lustre thrown upon it. And had Isabella paid less respect to her spiritual advisers, and more to her own conscience, she would have made herself much more respected by posterity, both as a woman and a queen. But Isabella had been educated in the tenets of the Romish Church, to which, as well as to its ministers, she had been taught to pay the blindest obedience; and this obedience was yielded on occasions when her own interest, as well as that of her subjects, ought to have led her to pursue a course more in accordance with the dictates of common sense, religion, and humanity.

No sooner had Ferdinand and Isabella ascended the throne, than the Romish priests made violent applications to them, to put a stop to the scandalous heresies which were every day being permitted on the part of the Jews. Some conception may be formed of the charges made against these unfortunates, from the following passages taken from a chronicle of the time :

“This accursed race were either unwilling to bring their children to be baptized, or, if they did, they washed away the stain on returning home. *They dressed their steers and other dishes with oil, instead of lard*; abstained from pork; kept the passover; ate meat in Lent; and *sent oil to replenish the lamps of their synagogues*;—with many

other abominable ceremonies of their religion.— They entertained no respect for monastic life, and frequently profaned the sanctity of religious houses, by the violation or seduction of their inmates. They were an exceeding politic and ambitious people, engrossing the most lucrative municipal offices, and preferring to gain their livelihood by traffic, in which they made exorbitant gains, rather than by manual labour or mechanical arts. They considered themselves in the hands of the Egyptians, whom it was a merit to deceive and cheat. By their wicked contrivances they amassed great wealth, and thus were often able to ally themselves, by marriage, with noble Christian families.”

The efforts of the priests would hardly have succeeded in effecting the persecution and expulsion of the Jews, had they not been aided by a considerable part of the Christian population, many of whom, being heavily indebted to the Jews, and being deficient in the means of re-payment, considered that the death or banishment of their creditors would be a very easy and convenient mode of settling accounts. Accordingly, Ferdinand and Isabella were earnestly solicited to re-establish the Inquisition, which had fallen into disuse, and (on obtaining authority from the Pope) to prosecute the heretics with all possible vigour. Ferdinand, seeing the pecuniary advantages which would accrue to his state treasury from the confiscations of the property of his wealthy subjects, was very much in favour of the proposition; but the humane Isabella shrank from the idea of re-organising such a terrible tribu-

nal. By repeated solicitations, however, and appeals to her religious feelings, her scruples were at length overcome; and in 1478, at her request, Pope Sixtus IV. granted a bull, authorising the arrest and punishment of heretics and apostates. After having received it, Isabella appears to have repented of her act, and suspended its execution until less severe remedies had been attempted; and, in the meantime, appointed three parties to watch the effects of the gentle means which she intended to try. In two years these commissioners rendered a report, but, as they were ecclesiastics, it was, of course, unfavourable to the Jews; and the papal bull was now put in full force. In September, 1480, Michael Morillo and John de San Martin, two Dominicans, were appointed inquisitors; Dr. John Ruiz de Medina, (a queen's counsellor,) adviser and assessor to the inquisitors; and John Lopez del Barco, (the queen's chaplain,) procurator fiscal; and all were shortly ordered to Seville to commence their duties, and the governors of the provinces through which they had to pass were required to furnish them with whatever they might need.

The introduction of the Inquisition into Seville was fiercely opposed by the inhabitants. Although the inquisitors showed their royal commissions, they at first were unsuccessful in obtaining the services of a sufficient number of subordinates to enable them to proceed, and the Council of Spain found it necessary to give orders that the authorities of the town should afford the inquisitors the necessary assistance; orders, which the authorities, by some

means, temporarily evaded. The heretics, who foresaw the storm, took advantage of the interval to remove themselves to the estates of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, and other nobles. The inquisitors, having succeeded in establishing themselves firmly, issued their first edict in January, 1481; and taking for granted that all who had absconded were heretics, they commanded the Spanish nobles to seize all the emigrants within fifteen days, to send them under escort to Seville, and to confiscate their property, under pain of excommunication, &c., &c. Their commands were obeyed, and the prisoners were sent in such numbers that the convent assigned to them as a prison was insufficient for their accommodation, and they had to be removed to a larger building, the "Chateau de Triana," on which an inscription in barbarous Latin was shortly afterwards engraved; the following is a translation:

"The holy office of the Inquisition, established against the wickedness of heretics, commenced at Seville in the year 1481, under the pontificate of Sixtus IV. who granted, and in the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, who had asked for it. The first Inquisitor-general was Friar Thomas de Torquemada, prior of the Convent of Santa Cruz, of Segovia, of the order of the Preaching Brotherhood. God grant that, for the propagation and maintenance of the faith, it may last until the end of ages. 'Arise, O Lord, be judge in thy cause. Catch the foxes for us.' "

The first edict having proved so successful, a second speedily followed, called the Edict of Grace.

By it, those who had apostatised were required to surrender themselves voluntarily, and they were promised absolution and security for their property, if they came with true repentance; but in the event of their not coming forward before the expiry of the time stated in the edict, or if they were informed against by others previous to their surrender, they would be punished with the greatest severity. Many of those who allowed themselves to be deluded by this snare had punishment remitted and absolution granted, *only* on their declaring on oath the names and residences of all whom they knew or suspected to be apostates, or whom they had heard spoken of as such. Secresy was enjoined as to the revelations they had made, so that parties knew of suspicion attaching to them only on their being seized and thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition. The following cases were some of those in which denunciation was commanded. The Jewish convert was considered to have relapsed into heresy, if he kept the sabbath out of respect to the law which he had abandoned; (this was sufficiently proved if he wore better linen and garments on that day than those which he commonly used, or if he had not a fire in his house from the preceding evening;) if he took the suet and fat from the animals which were intended for his food, and washed the blood from it; *if he examined the blade of his knife before he killed the animals*, and covered the blood with earth; if he blessed the table after the manner of the Jews; if he drank of the wine called *caser*, (a

word derived from *caxer*, which means *lawful*;) and which is prepared by Jews; if he pronounced the *bahara*, or benediction, when he took the wine into his hands, and pronounced certain words before he gave it to another person; if he ate of an animal killed by Jews; if he recited the psalms of David, without repeating the *Gloria Patri* at the end; if he gave his son a Hebrew name, chosen among those used by the Jews; if he plunged him seven days after his birth into a vessel containing water, gold, silver, seedpearl, wheat, barley, and other substances, according to the custom of the Jews; if he drew the horoscope of his children at their birth; if he performed the *ruya*, a ceremony which consisted in inviting his friends and relations to a repast the day before he undertook a journey; if he turned his face to the wall at the time of his death, or had been placed in that posture before he expired; if he had washed, or caused to be washed, in hot water the body of a dead person, and interred him in a new shroud, with hose, shirt, and a mantle, and placed a piece of money in his mouth; if he had uttered a discourse in praise of the dead, or recited melancholy verses; if he had emptied the pitchers and other vessels of water in the house of a dead person, or in those of his neighbours, according to the custom of the Jews; if he sat behind the door of the deceased, as a sign of grief, or ate fish and olives instead of meat, to honour his memory; or if he remained in his house one year after the death of any one, to prove his grief. In any or all of

these cases he was to be denounced; and if once denounced, it was pretty certain that he would not easily escape.

The immense number of cases which would justify denunciation and conviction of a Jew, and their trifling and ridiculous nature, may excite a smile at the present day; but at the time of which we are writing, the net-work, which was industriously spread over and around the populace of Spain, by the Inquisition, and the fearful punishment which might be inflicted on any one for the least act which could indicate heresy, were matters of the most serious moment to the persecuted Israelites. Nor was innocence a sufficient guarantee against imprisonment, confiscation of goods, and even death. It is not then to be wondered at, that the immense number of denunciations, the cruel and summary punishments inflicted on conviction, and the horrible tortures invented to ensure convictions, struck terror into the hearts not only of those who felt conscious of their being heretics, but even of those who were conscientious professors of the Roman Catholic religion.

On the 6th January, 1481, (*four days* only after the publication of their first edict,) six persons were publicly burnt; seventeen more on the 26th March, and a still larger number a month after. The Prefect of Seville, in consequence of the large number condemned to be burnt, erected a stone scaffold, on which were placed four statues of plaster, which were named "*the four prophets*." The condemned were either enclosed *within* these figures, and burnt

while there, or were fastened to them — authorities do not agree which. Probably both methods were used, under varying circumstances. A large number of new Christians (as the converted Jews were called,) fled to various countries, endeavouring to escape from the tyrannical sway of the inquisitors; and considerable numbers betook themselves to Rome, where they sought protection from the Pope against their judges. In consequence of the complaints which were every day made to him, Sixtus revoked the authority with which he had invested the Spanish inquisitors, and nominated Alphonso de St. Cebriant, and seven other monks, to supply their places. Isabella having applied to the Pope to make sentences in Spain final, and without appeal to the court of Rome, he declined, but appointed an apostolical judge of appeal for that country, to whom all disputes should be finally referred.

As inquisitors at this time travelled much, holding courts of inquisition at various places, the records of the tribunals were not kept with sufficient accuracy to enable us to form an estimate of the number of convictions and punishments. Llorente, however, estimates the total number of convictions by the Inquisition of Seville, in 1481, at 2,000 burnt; 2,000 burnt in effigy; 17,000 penances; total 21,000. During 1482, burnt 88; burnt in effigy, 44; penances 625; total 757.

Thomas de Torquemada, a Dominican friar, a man of great talents, ambition, and most indomitable perseverance, was, in 1483, appointed by Sixtus,

Inquisitor General of Castile and Leon, and, shortly afterwards, of Arragon. His powers were confirmed, in 1485-6, by Innocent VIII. No sooner did he receive his appointment, than he set vigorously to work, increasing the number of local inquisitions, and rendering those already existing more efficient in their operation. He established inferior tribunals at Seville, Cordova, Jaen, and Villa-Real, the last of which was soon afterwards transferred to Toledo. As assistants he chose two civilians, John Guiterrez de Chables and Tristan de Medina. For the better regulation and organisation of the various tribunals, Ferdinand called a royal council of the Inquisition, of which he appointed Torquemada president, and gave him three councillors, who were doctors of the law, Don Alphonso Carillo, Sancho Velasquez de Cuellar, and Bonce de Valencia, whom Torquemada authorised to draw up laws for the new council. He then convoked a junta, which consisted of the inquisitors of the four tribunals just mentioned, the two assistants, and the members of the royal council. They met at Seville, and, in 1484, published the first laws of the Spanish Inquisition. These laws, of which the following is an abstract, have since that time borne the name of Torquemada as their author.

The 1st article regulated the manner in which the establishment of the Inquisition should be announced in the country where it was to be introduced.

The 2nd commanded that an edict should be published, accompanied with censures against those

who did not accuse themselves during the term of grace.

The 3rd appointed a delay of thirty days for heretics to declare themselves.

The 4th regulated that all voluntary confessions should be written in the presence of the inquisitors and a recorder.

The 5th, that absolution should not be given secretly to any individual voluntarily confessing, unless no person was acquainted with his crime.

The 6th ordained that part of the penance of a *reconciled heretic* should consist in being deprived of all honourable employments, and of the use of gold, silver, pearls, silk, and fine wool.

The 7th provided that pecuniary penalties should be imposed on all who should make voluntary confession.

The 8th, that any person accusing himself after the term of grace had expired could not be exempted from the punishment of confiscation.

The 9th, that if persons under twenty years of age accused themselves after the term of grace had expired, and it was proved that they were drawn into error by their parents, a slight punishment should be inflicted.

The 10th obliged the inquisitors to declare, in their act of reconciliation, the exact time when the offender fell into heresy, that the portion of property to be confiscated might be ascertained.

The 11th provided that if a heretic, detained in the prisons of the holy office, demanded absolution, and appeared to feel true repentance, it might be granted

to him; imposing at the same time the punishment of perpetual imprisonment.

The 12th, that if the inquisitors thought that the repentance of the prisoner was pretended, in the case indicated by the former article, they were permitted to refuse the absolution, to declare him a false penitent, and, as such, condemn him to be burnt.

The 13th decreed that if a man, absolved after his confession, should boast of having concealed several crimes, or if information should be obtained that he had committed more than he had confessed, he was to be arrested, and judged as a false penitent.

The 14th, that the accused was to be condemned as impenitent if he persisted in his denials, even after the publication of the testimony.

The 15th, that if a semi-proof existed against a person who denied his crime, he was to be put to the torture; if he confessed his crime during the torture, and afterwards confirmed his confession, he was to be punished or convicted; if he retracted, he was to be tortured again, or condemned to an extraordinary punishment.

The 16th prohibited the communication of the entire deposition of the witnesses to the accused.

The 17th obliged the inquisitors to interrogate the witnesses themselves, if it was not impossible.

The 18th decreed that one or two inquisitors should be present when the prisoner was tortured, or that a commissioner should be appointed to receive his declarations, if they were occupied elsewhere.

The 19th, that if the accused did not appear

when summoned, according to the prescribed form, he was to be condemned as a heretic.

The 20th, that if it was proved that any person died a heretic, by his writings or conduct, he should be judged and condemned as such, his body disinterred and burnt, and his property confiscated.

The 21st commanded inquisitors to extend their jurisdiction over the vassals of nobles; if the nobles refused to permit it, they were to be censured.

The 22nd decreed that if a man, burnt as a heretic, left children under age, a portion of their father's property should be granted to them, under the title of alms, and the inquisitors should be obliged to confide their education to proper persons.

The 23rd, that if a heretic, reconciled during the term of grace, without having incurred the punishment of confiscation, possessed property belonging to a condemned person, this property was not to be included in the pardon.

The 24th obliged the reconciled to give his Christian slaves their liberty, when his property was not confiscated, if the king granted the pardon on that condition.

The 25th prohibited the inquisitors, and other persons attached to the tribunal, from receiving presents, on pain of excommunication, deprivation of their employments, restitution, and a penalty of twice the value of the gifts received.

The 26th recommended the officers of the Inquisition to live in peace together.

The 27th commanded that they should carefully watch the conduct of their inferior officers.

The 28th and last committed to the prudence of the inquisitors the discussion of all points not mentioned in the foregoing articles.

The next step taken by Torquemada was the appointment of Caspard Juglar and Peter Arbues d'Epila inquisitors for Saragossa. A great number of the inhabitants of that city, and indeed of Arragon, being *new Christians*, a strenuous opposition to the introduction of the Inquisition was manifested. It being asserted that the articles of confiscation which were embodied in the laws of the Inquisition were contrary to the laws and political liberties of Arragon, deputies were sent to the court of Spain and to Rome, to demand that they should be rescinded. Ferdinand, dreading that the tribunal would cease to exist were this demand complied with, did not accede to it; but he did not at once give the deputies a positive refusal. While they were delayed at court, awaiting the reply of the king, the inquisitors tried and condemned several of the new Christians; which act so incensed the populace, that a conspiracy was entered into, embracing many men of rank and wealth, and it was determined to assassinate one or two inquisitors, in order to deter others from accepting the office. To carry out their plans, a fund was raised among the Arragonese of the Jewish race; the direction of the enterprise was confided to a noble named John de la Abadia, who employed seven persons to execute his plans. Peter Arbues, the inquisitor principally aimed at, being

informed of the conspiracy, took precautions for his own safety, by wearing a coat of mail under his clothes, and a helmet under his cap. After many unsuccessful attempts, he was at last murdered while at church at matins, on the 15th November, 1485, by Vidal d'Uranso, who gave him a mortal wound in the back of the neck: he died two days after. When the murder became known, a tumult occurred, the old Christians demanding the extermination of the new Christians, whom they suspected, as a body, of the murder; and they were appeased only on the archbishop declaring that the criminal should be punished. The inquisitors were for a considerable period occupied in discovering the parties implicated in this murder, and their labours were attended with such success, that a large number of families were plunged into poverty and misery by the condemnation of their relatives. Two hundred and upwards were burnt; and it is probably no exaggeration to say, that "there was scarcely a single family in the three first orders of nobility which was not disgraced, by having at least one of the members in the *auto da fé*, wearing the habit of a penitent."

The other provinces of Arragon were not slow in following the example of Saragossa, and the attempt to establish the Inquisition was everywhere met by resistance, which, however, by dint of perseverance and cruelty was at last overcome. Among the resisting towns and bishoprics were Teruel, in which the Inquisition was established in 1485; and Lerida and

Barcelona, both of which received it in 1487. The latter, as well as Majorca and Sardinia, insisted on having inquisitors with special titles, and had their desires gratified. In Majorca the tribunal was introduced in 1490, and in Sardinia in 1492.

It is related of Torquemada, that, in 1488, he issued a provisional order to the treasurer of the holy office, not to pay the royal orders till the salaries of the officers and the expenses of the tribunal were liquidated; and that he applied to Ferdinand to sanction it, but the latter refused.

Torquemada, finding his previous instructions for the guidance of inquisitors insufficient, added the following articles to them :—

1. That each inferior tribunal should consist of two inquisitors as civilians, an attorney, an alguazil, a recorder, and other persons if necessary, who were to receive a fixed salary. The same article prohibits the admission of the servants or creatures of the inquisitors into the tribunal.

2. That if any of the persons employed should receive presents from the accused or his family, he should be immediately deprived of his office.

3. That the holy office should employ an able civilian at Rome, under the title of agent, and that this expense should be supported by the money arising from the confiscations.

4. That the contracts signed before the year 1479, by persons whose property had since been seized, should be regarded as valid; but if it was proved that any deception had been used in the

transactions, that the culprits should be punished by one hundred strokes of a whip, and be branded on the face with a red hot iron.

5. That the nobles who should receive fugitives on their estates should be compelled to deliver up to government the property committed to their care; and if they claimed the fulfilment of contracts signed by the accused for their profit, that the attorney should commence an action to reclaim the property as belonging to the revenue.

6. That the notaries of the Inquisition should keep an account of the property of condemned persons.

7. That the stewards of the holy office could sell the confiscated property, and receive the rents of the estates which might be let.

8. That each steward should inspect the property belonging to his tribunal.

9. That a steward could not sequester the property of a condemned person, without an order from the Inquisition; and even in that case, that he should be accompanied by an alguazil, and place the effects, and an inventory of them, in the hands of a third person.

10. That the stewards should pay the salaries of the inquisitors quarterly, that they might not be obliged to receive presents.

11. That in all circumstances not foreseen in the new regulations, the inquisitors should conduct themselves with prudence, and apply to the government in all difficult cases.

The laws of the tribunal were still found to be defective, and Torquemada convened a meeting of inquisitors at Toledo, which meeting agreed to the adoption of the following laws. They were published in 1498, and were intended to supersede certain of those previously agreed to.

1. That each tribunal should be composed of two inquisitors, one a civilian, the other a theologian. They were prohibited from inflicting punishment or torture, or communicating the charges made by the witnesses, without the consent of both.

2. That the inquisitors should not allow their dependents to carry any defensive arms, except where their office obliged them to do so.

3. That no person should be imprisoned whose crime had not been sufficiently proved; and that, when the arrest had taken place, his judgment should be immediately pronounced, without waiting for fresh proofs.

4. That the Inquisition should acquit deceased persons, if sufficient proof was not produced, and not delay the trial to wait for fresh accusations, as it was injurious to the children, whose establishment was prevented, from the uncertainty of the result of the trial.

5. That the entire failure of the funds of the holy office should not occasion the imposition of a greater number of pecuniary penalties.

6. That the inquisitors should not change imprisonment, or any other corporeal punishment, to a pecuniary penalty; but for the punishment of fasting, alms, pilgrimages, or other similar penances.

7. That the inquisitors should carefully examine into the expediency of admitting to reconciliation those who confessed their crimes after their arrest, since they might be considered as contumacious, the Inquisition having been established many years.

8. That the inquisitors should punish false witnesses publicly.

9. That two men, related in any degree, should not be employed in the holy office, nor a master and his servant, even in case their functions should be entirely distinct.

10. That each tribunal should have archives, secured by three locks, the keys of which should be placed in the hands of the two notaries and the fiscal.

11. That the notary should receive the testimony of witnesses only in the presence of an inquisitor, and that the two priests commissioned to prove the truth of the depositions should not belong to the tribunal.

12. That the inquisitors should establish the Inquisition in all towns where it did not already exist.

13. That in all difficult cases the inquisitors should consult the council.

14. That the women should have a prison separated from that of the men.

15. That the officers of the tribunal should perform their functions six hours in a day, and that they should attend the inquisitors whenever they were required.

16. That after the inquisitors had received the

oath of the witnesses in presence of the fiscal, he should be obliged to retire.

In addition to these instructions, Torquemada gave particular directions to each functionary of the Inquisition, and compelled him to take an oath that he would not reveal anything which he might see or hear within the walls. He also directed that the inquisitors should not be allowed to remain along with the prisoner.

The consequence of the enforcement of the terrible laws of the Inquisition in Spain was, that many thousand families were thrown into misery, by the condemnation and execution of their relatives; that upwards of one hundred thousand families emigrated; and that immense sums were squandered by the persecuted at the court of Rome, in seeking absolution or redress, neither of which was refused when it could be well paid for. This practice, as it seriously affected the treasury of the Inquisition, from which the inquisitors drew their salaries, displeased them, and they remonstrated with the Pope, who then annulled all the absolutions he had so granted, and offered new pardons on new conditions, in violation of his agreement with Ferdinand and Isabella, which was, to abolish all means of appeal to the holy see from the decrees of the Inquisition. Such were the practices of the Pope, or of the court of Rome. We are not informed, however, that the money was returned which had been paid for the absolutions annulled.

While Ferdinand and Isabella were carrying on

the war against Granada, the Jews residing in Spain were charged with persuading those of their own nation who had become Christians to return to the Jewish faith; and also with crucifying children on Good Friday, in mockery of the Saviour. The Jewish surgeons and apothecaries also, who were famed for their skill, were accused of having, in the exercise of their vocation, intentionally caused the death of many Christians, and, among others, that of Henry III., of which his physician, Mair, was said to be guilty. Alarmed at the dangers of confiscation of property and expulsion (not to speak of worse evils), with which they were threatened, the Jews sent to Ferdinand and Isabella a deputation, who offered thirty thousand pieces of silver to carry on the war against Granada, and promised, for the whole of their tribe, in future to live peaceably, retire to their houses by certain hours at night, and avoid entering into any trades or professions which might be specially reserved for Christians, provided they would exert their influence to still the storm which was rising against them. This offer was about to be accepted, when Torquemada heard of it. He immediately appeared before them, with a crucifix in his hand, and cried out, "Behold him whom Judas sold for thirty pieces of silver; do you sell him for more?" Throwing down the crucifix, he left the apartment. The fanaticism of the inquisitor wrought a sudden change in the minds of the king and queen, who, on the 31st March, 1492, issued a decree, proclaiming that all the Jews in the kingdom were required to leave it before the 31st July,

in the same year; and that in default, they should suffer death, and their property be confiscated; that they should be allowed to sell their stock, and carry away their furniture and moveable property, *but not gold or silver*, for which they were to take letters of change, or else merchandise.* At the same time, Christians were ordered not to receive Jews into their houses, or to afford them countenance or assistance of any kind after the day named. A few Jews received baptism, and thus avoided the danger; but the greater number emigrated at a severe sacrifice, and it is declared by a historian that he saw some of them give a house for an ass, and a vineyard for a small quantity of cloth or linen. Notwithstanding the precautions taken to prevent the export of the precious metals, many concealed considerable quantities in their clothes and saddles; and it is asserted that, in many cases, they reduced their gold coins to small pieces, and swallowed them. Some who emigrated to the kingdom of Fez, in Morocco, were severely maltreated by the Moors, who robbed them of their money and goods, violated some of their women, and killed others of them in expectation of finding gold within them. Thus, despoiled of their all, these unfortunates returned to Spain, and conformed to the rites of the established religion. Others of the emigrants went to Portugal, and

* This proclamation is too long for insertion here; but a translation of it will be found in Lindo's "History of the Jews of Spain and Portugal," (London: Longman, 1848;) a work of great interest, and to which we beg to refer those who would study more fully the history of the Jews in those countries.

obtained from King John, who was then reigning, permission to abide in that kingdom for a certain time. They each paid eight pieces of gold for this privilege; and it was stipulated, that in the event of their remaining in the country beyond the specified time, they were to be sold as slaves. King John gave orders to his officers, at the various ports, to render the Jews every assistance in obtaining vessels for their transport, at fair rates; but, nevertheless, while at sea, they were subjected to severe extortions by the crew, and, in several instances, their wives and daughters were violated. The report of these cruelties so alarmed those who were about to embark, that they remained in Portugal after the stipulated period, and were sold as slaves. Emmanuel, however, who succeeded King John, afterwards gave them their liberty.

The number of Jews expelled has been estimated by some at 160,000, and by others at 800,000, but the more moderate computation seems the nearer to the truth.* The expulsion of even that number must have proved most prejudicial to the prosperity of the country, for the Jews were not only the most wealthy portion of the inhabitants of Spain, but by far the most intelligent and energetic, and filled offices where not only mechanical skill, but great intellectual power and scientific knowledge, were requisite.

The pride and arrogance of Torquemada led him to the greatest extremes. Not satisfied with the condemnation of thousands of men of property, he

* Mariana states the most accredited number to be about 170,000 families, or 800,000 souls.

aimed at the subjection of bishops to the power of the Inquisition. He took informations against Davila, Bishop of Segovia, and Aranda, Bishop of Calahorra, and forwarded them to the Pope. Both were tried, and the former was honourably acquitted; but the latter unfortunately called *in his favour* a hundred and one witnesses, every one of whom had something to allege against him, and he was condemned to be deprived of his office, and reduced to the rank of a simple layman. He died in confinement.

Pope Alexander VI. being worn out by the continual complaints made against Torquemada, and fearing the effect of his ambitious designs, wished to deprive him of his office, but much dreaded the effect of such an act on the court of Spain. At length, in 1494, he appointed four inquisitors, jointly invested with the same power as Torquemada, and designed to supply his place. The great age and growing infirmities of Torquemada were urged in excuse of this measure. He did not long survive, but died on the 16th November, 1498. It is wonderful that he died a natural death, for he was universally hated for his pride and cruelty, which raised up against him many enemies, who sought his life. So conscious was he of this, and so much did he fear a violent death, that he obtained permission from Ferdinand and Isabella to use an escort of fifty familiars of the Inquisition on horseback, and two hundred on foot, when he travelled; and he always kept on his table the horn of a unicorn, which he supposed possessed the power of discovering poisons.

CHAPTER III.

BEFORE we proceed farther, it will be necessary that we should give an account, somewhat in detail, of the procedure of the modern Spanish Inquisition, in order that our readers may be made acquainted with the ordeal to which its victims were subjected.

DENUNCIATION.

The proceeding of the Inquisition was commenced by a *denunciation*, or some information which supplied its place, such as a disclosure made by a witness in another cause, or wrung from a prisoner under the torture. The denunciation was put in writing, and the names of those whom the informer believed capable of deposing against the accused being added to it, it was signed by the deponent, who swore to the truth of its contents. This paper was now called the *declaration*. The witnesses referred to were then sent for and examined, their depositions taken in a similar manner, and their declarations added to the first one. These declarations now formed the *summary information*, or *preparatory instruction*. A law existed which provided that if a witness deposed falsely against an accused person, he should be liable to the same punishment as the

accused would have had inflicted on him had he been convicted; but the experience of the inquisitors convinced them that few witnesses would come forward were this law enforced, and it consequently fell into disuse. Anonymous denunciations were received without scruple, and were acted on in the same manner as those given under the sanction of a name. It is needless to point out how this practice enabled those bearing a grudge to revenge themselves on their enemies in a most dastardly manner. Many denunciations were effected through the instrumentality of confessors, who, in the exercise of their office, imposed it as a duty on such of their penitents as had heard or seen anything which was, or appeared to be, contrary to the catholic faith, that they should communicate the facts to the Holy Office. On such occasions, penitents seldom failed to remember some unguarded expression which had fallen from the lips of some friend or relative. If the penitent could write, he himself drew up a declaration; if not, it was done for him by his confessor, who then forwarded it to the holy office. As, in such cases, absolution was rigidly refused until the denunciation was effected, it frequently happened that a wife informed against her husband, a parent against a child, or a child against a parent. It is, we think, related in the life of Blanco White, that his mother, who was a good catholic, and was aware that he held opinions which, if known, would subject him to the power of the inquisitors, would not dare to speak to him for days together, lest he should unguardedly *give expression* to those opinions;

in which case, she would, of course, be compelled by her confessor to denounce him to the holy office.

INQUEST.

When the inquisitors had decided that the actions or words which had been denounced were of a nature to warrant an enquiry, for the purpose of establishing the proofs, an *inquest* was commenced, to which the witnesses who had been cited as cognisant of the matter were summoned. On appearing, each witness was compelled to swear that he would not divulge anything which he should see or hear; and he was then asked, not respecting the particular case under enquiry, but in general terms, *whether he had ever seen or heard anything which was, or appeared to be, contrary to the Catholic faith, or the rights of the Inquisition.* Being ignorant of the precise object for which he was called, the witness would generally recollect and divulge circumstances implicating persons not previously denounced. When he did so, the inquisitors would artfully question him in such a way as might lead him to suppose that he was alluding to the very circumstances respecting which he had been called to give evidence; but at the same time so as to lead him to further communications respecting other parties. When the inquisitors had extracted from him all the information which he could give them on these matters, they would refer, as it were by accident, to the subject of their present enquiry. His evidence on all the matters of which he had spoken was taken down in writing by the notary of the holy office, who, when-

ever he had the opportunity, aggravated the charge by the arbitrary interpretation of inappropriate or equivocal expressions used by the witness. The declaration was then read to the witness, who signed it; it was read to him again after an interval of four days, in the presence of two priests, who were not attached to the tribunal, but were bound by oath to observe the strictest secrecy as to its proceedings. It may be thought that these two readings of the declaration would enable the witness to detect any exaggeration or aggravation of his evidence; but, in the first place, the generality of those called before the tribunal were ignorant and uneducated, and obviously unable to check anything of the kind; and, in the second place, the terror which the holy office inspired was such as to unman most of those called before it, who moreover did not know for what purpose they were required, nor even whether they were to be treated as witnesses or accused men. In cases where three persons conspired against the accused, he was beyond all chance of escape; for the accuser's evidence and the concurring testimony of two witnesses were sufficient to convict him; and so artfully were prisoners treated, and so impenetrable the secrecy in which inquisitors involved evidence and witnesses (of whose names even they were not informed), that it was almost a miracle if any accused person established his innocence against such odds.

CENSURE OF THE QUALIFIERS.

If the *preliminary instruction*, when examined

by the inquisitors, was sufficiently strong to induce them to proceed with the case, a circular was addressed to all the other tribunals of the province, to inquire whether any charges against the accused existed in their registers, and if so, desiring that they might be forwarded. This proceeding was called the *review of the registers*. Extracts from them of any propositions imputed by witnesses to the accused were made; and as it often happened that two or more tribunals reported the same proposition in different terms, each proposition was held to be a distinct accusation. The whole of the propositions were then handed by the inquisitors to the *Qualifiers of the Holy Office*, who were theologians appointed to examine them, and after having done so, to write at the bottom whether they merited theological censure *as heretical*, *as smacking of heresy*, *as conducive to heresy*, or whether only *suspected of heresy*. If only *suspected of heresy*, they had to state whether the suspicion was *light*, *grave*, or *violent*. The decision of the qualifiers determined the proceedings against the accused until the trial was prepared for definitive sentence. The qualifiers, though bound to secrecy, were not entrusted with the original documents: *why*, it would be difficult to say, unless we suppose that it was part of that policy of secrecy which the inquisitors so seemed to love. It is undoubted, that if the qualifiers had had the same means as the inquisitors of judging the cases, they would have found in many instances that the propositions *appeared* heretical only from the pecu-

liar manner in which the witnesses or the accused expressed themselves. Independently of this, however, the qualifiers were generally scholastic monks, almost totally unacquainted with systematic theology, brought up in seclusion, and in a state of ignorance so profound, that they not unfrequently directed their theological censures against many propositions found in the writings of the most eminent Catholic divines, and qualified as heretics learned Catholics who possessed an amount of erudition far superior to their own. Such instances of bungling ignorance were by no means uncommon, and the reader will frequently meet with them in the History of the Inquisition.

PRISONS.

When the qualifiers had decided that the propositions were heretical, the *Procurator Fiscal* demanded that the accused should be removed to the secret prisons of the holy office. The inquisitors signed the mandate of arrest, directed to the *Grand Alguazil*, who then, with the aid of the familiars, executed it. On the arrest being effected, all the property of the accused was seized by the *Registrar of Sequestrations*,* or *receiver of goods*, who accompanied the alguazil. The registrar then made out an inventory of the property, the whole of which was retained to defray the expenses of arrest and the cost of

* *Ludovicus a Paramo* derives the practice of confiscating the property of heretics from the example of God himself, who deprived our first parents and their offspring of all their effects, of their earthly paradise, and of their dominion over all creatures. For thus, says he, did God as the first inquisitor teach other inquisitors, his delegates, how heretics are to be dealt with!

keeping the accused during his incarceration. If he was fortunate enough to be released, the balance (if any remained) was returned to him; if not, it was added to the funds of the tribunal, from which the expenses of the office and the salaries of its officers were defrayed.* The accused were then conducted to one of the prisons, of which there were three,—*public*, *intermediate*, and *secret*. The *public* was intended for those accused, not of heresy, but of offences of minor importance, which were under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition. The *intermediate* was intended for servants of the holy office, who, in the exercise of their duties, had committed some fault, but were not guilty of heresy. The *secret* prison was for heretics. Those confined in the public and intermediate prisons were allowed to see and hold converse with their friends and relatives: those in the secret prison were allowed to see none but their jailor and judges, and were not permitted to speak even to these, except under the restrictions

* It ought here to be remarked, to prevent misconception, that the procedure of the Holy Office now described was that which *ought* in all cases to have been adopted; but, as our readers will learn before they have enquired much into the History of the Inquisition, cases of the grossest injustice were rather the rule than the exception with inquisitors, and these functionaries so often acted with an utter disregard of the laws which *professedly* governed the proceedings, that one would be justified in assuming that they were intentionally neglected. In the present instance, the laws did not provide for the confiscation of the property of those who might be acquitted; yet how many, who have been fortunate enough to escape from the hands of the Holy Office, have had their property restored to them?

which were imposed by the laws of the holy office. Formerly the secret prisons of the holy office consisted of damp, filthy dungeons, unfit for the reception of human beings: latterly they have been of a more wholesome character, small, but light and dry. Yet, with these advantages, they were most frightful places of confinement. The most profound solitude and silence reigned: none entered within the walls without the certainty either of meeting a disgraceful and horrible death at the stake, or (if life were spared) being indelibly stigmatised and eternally lost in public opinion. The solitude, the absence of all occupation, the contemplation of a fearful death, and the feeling that the convicted felon or the galley slave would be respected in comparison with him,—all these would combine to make the unhappy prisoner care little for a life so little worth saving, and would precipitate him into a despair too fearful to contemplate. Instances have occurred, and are by no means rare, of men who have been imprisoned by the holy office, who, when they entered, were men of strong constitution and vigorous minds, but, when they left its dungeons, had feeble bodies, and minds utterly broken down by intense mental and bodily suffering. It has been stated by some that it was the practice to load prisoners in the dungeons of the holy office with chains. This, *as a rule*, was not the case: the prisons were quite strong enough for all purposes of security, without such precautions; and it was only when the wretched inmate of a cell was driven to despair, and made attempts

on his own life, that it was deemed necessary to confine him in such a manner.

FIRST AUDIENCES.

On each of the first three days immediately following the arrest, the accused had granted to him one *audience of monition*. He was brought before the inquisitors, and admonished to speak the truth without reserve, and to rest assured that if he did so he would be leniently treated by the holy office; whereas, if he obstinately refused to admit his guilt, he would experience the utmost rigour of the law. If the accused requested to be informed of the accusation against him, he was merely told that no one was imprisoned by the holy office without sufficient evidence of his having spoken against the faith; and that it would be for his advantage to task his memory and confess his crimes voluntarily. Thus admonished, some prisoners admitted the truth of the facts contained in the *preparatory instructions*; others confessed more,—others less; generally, however, they declared that their consciences did not reproach them, but that if the inquisitor would order the depositions to be read, they would frankly admit all faults which they remembered to have committed. It was the practice never to grant this request at such a stage of the proceedings. Another custom of the Inquisition was to question the accused respecting his genealogy and parentage, the object being to ascertain, by reference to the registers of the various tribunals, whether any of his family had

ever been convicted of heresy. If such proved to be the case, it strengthened the presumptive evidence against him, it being supposed that opinion, like disease, is sometimes hereditary. Another reason for this practice was, that any property descending to the accused, from any relative who had been convicted of heresy, would become forfeited to the Inquisition. The accused also was frequently required to repeat the *Pater*, the *Credo*, and other forms of Christian faith. If he repeated them correctly, well and good; if incorrectly, or if he could not recite them at all, the presumptive evidence against him was still more increased. The accused always had impressed upon him the abounding charity and mercy of the ministers of the holy office, and was repeatedly assured that if he would accuse himself, he would be leniently dealt with. That such promises were made with the conscientious intention of their being fulfilled, the most charitable can hardly believe, since we find that, in a multitude of cases, none occurred where a self-accusation ever had the effect of releasing the accused from the disgrace of wearing a *san-benito*, and walking in an *auto da fé*—even supposing his punishment extended no farther. We may here mention, that it was universally the custom of the inquisitors to make the accused labour under every disadvantage, and they frequently, in their examinations of the accused, kept a book before them, to which they constantly referred, as if they had his whole life there written down. The result was, that the accused, thinking that the truth of any statement which he might

make would be immediately tested, and punished if incorrect, was particularly cautious in what he said, and hesitated in his replies. His hesitation in such a case was of course interpreted to his disadvantage.

CHARGES.

On the conclusion of the first three audiences, the Procurator Fiscal formed his accusation from the preliminary instruction. In doing so, he not only took for granted that charges against the accused were actually proved, (at a time when only semi-proof existed,) but instead of reducing the accusations to proper heads, as, for instance, that *the accused was charged with having said such a thing against the faith*, he multiplied the number of charges in proportion to the number of witnesses who had deposed against him. Thus, supposing a certain conversation to have been reported by five or six witnesses, (each relating it somewhat in a different manner,) five or six different accusations, instead of one, were framed upon their evidence! When the accused had his accusation read, he was confounded to find such a number of charges adduced, and unless he happened to be a clear-headed, intelligent, and cool person, he was almost sure to infer that he was accused of as many different acts as there were heads of accusation. Becoming confused in his attempts to release himself from the meshes in which he was entangled, he perhaps related the very circumstance on which the accusations were founded, in a manner different from any of the witnesses, and thus himself unconsciously added one

more to the accusations already made. As careless language was always interpreted in a manner prejudicial to the accused, and as no allowance whatever was made for accidental discrepancies in statements, it will not appear wonderful that few escaped from the power of a tribunal aided by such a well contrived plan of accusation. In reference to this ingenious system of multiplying accusations, it may be stated, that when the accused, after trial, was condemned to appear in an *auto da fé*, an abstract of the accusations against him was read to the multitude; and as the charges appeared in it without any diminution of their number, the ignorant mob were led to applaud the benevolence and mercy of the holy office, which had awarded such a slight punishment to a criminal guilty of such a large number of heinous crimes!

TORTURE.

When the farce of examination had proceeded so far as we have described, the accused was in one of three positions. He had either wholly acknowledged his guilt, or he had partially done so, or he had altogether denied it. It may be thought that these three positions required three different treatments; but it was not the practice of the holy office to discriminate in such cases, and all were alike subjected to the torture! He who had confessed his guilt was tortured, not for the crimes he had confessed, but that he might be compelled to confess other crimes, of which the holy office was not cognisant; and those who had either denied, or

partially confessed their guilt, were also tortured, that the former might be compelled to confess somewhat, and the latter to acknowledge more than he had already done! It is, however, but just to state, that there is no evidence to prove that the torture was inflicted in every case which came under the notice of the Inquisition; though, from the instances which the records of the holy office itself furnish, it is evident that in a vast majority of cases it *was* inflicted. And it must be stated, that, during the last years of its existence, torture does not appear to have been *generally* inflicted to such an extent as previously, though some of the cases which we shall detail may induce the reader to suppose that the officers of the modern Inquisition were not one whit less cruel than their predecessors.

The cruelty of the inquisitors had frequently to be checked, as cases were constantly occurring where death ensued from the infliction of the torture. A law was therefore passed, which required them to apply it *only once*. But men who had shewed so much ingenuity in the construction of the various instruments and machines used in the holy office, would have little difficulty in evading a law of this sort; and we accordingly find that when they inflicted the torture they had a physician present, who informed them when it could no longer be continued without danger to life; and then the torture was declared to be *commenced*, but *not terminated*, and the wretched sufferer was sent back to his cell, with the comfortable assurance that the punishment would be re-inflicted so soon as his frame was capable of

bearing it. By this clever manœuvre the law was evaded, and the torture might be renewed, again and again, without let or hindrance.

Although, in the course of the narratives to be hereafter related, there will be much information as to the torture, it is necessary that some account should here be given of the various methods and machines used for the purpose of inflicting it. As the screams of the tortured prisoner might probably be heard beyond the walls of the holy office, unless precautions were taken to prevent it, the torture was inflicted in "*The Hall of Torture*," a room either underground, or placed in the centre of the building.

The first torture was generally that of "*the pulley*." The prisoner was stripped of all his clothes, except his drawers and stockings, and his hands were fastened behind him. A rope was then attached to his hands, and a heavy iron weight to his feet. When all was ready, the executioners suddenly hoisted him up to the ceiling, by means of the rope running through a pulley, which was suspended from a staple in the roof of the room. The arms being most painfully wrenched backwards, the weight of the body alone would in most cases be sufficient to tear them from their sockets, but to render the attainment of this object the more certain, the weight we have mentioned was attached to the feet. While thus suspended, the prisoner was sometimes whipped; at other times had a red hot iron thrust into various parts of his body; and he was coldly admonished by the inquisitors to speak

the truth. If he refused to confess, and his arms had not yet been dislocated, the rope was suddenly loosened in such a manner that he fell within a few inches of the ground, and received a jerk which almost certainly effected the required dislocation.

If the prisoner still refused to confess, and was capable of bearing the re-infliction of the torture, one or other of the following processes was gone through. If he was *not*, in the opinion of the physician, able to bear any more, he had his joints set, and was remanded to his cell, till he was so far re-invigorated as to render it safe to torture him again.

The torture of *the fire*, or *the chafing dish*, was thus applied :—The prisoner had his feet laid bare, and was placed in the stocks, so that he could not move hand or foot. A chafing dish, full of burning charcoal, was then brought in, and the soles of his feet exposed to the heat, which was intense. To render the torture more unbearable, the feet were frequently rubbed with grease, so that if the infliction was continued long they would be literally *fried*. During the process the prisoner was exhorted to confess ; and if by extremity of pain he was induced to promise to do so, the attendants temporarily introduced a board between his feet and the fire, and he was required to go on with his confession. If he repented of his promise, the board was withdrawn, and the process proceeded with. The heartless conduct of the inquisitors during the infliction of the torture is well known ; and Archibald Bower, (himself a counsellor of the Inquisition of Macerata,)

states that frequently, while an unhappy and probably innocent person was crying out in their presence during the infliction, and begging, by all that was sacred, for one moment's relief, the inquisitors and the rest of the inhuman crew, unaffected by his complaints, and deaf to his groans, tears, and entreaties, were entertaining one another with the news of the town; nay, sometimes they would even insult, with unheard of barbarity, the unhappy wretch in the height of his torments.

There were several machines bearing the name of "*the rack*." One of these was a simple partition, with a windlass behind it, from the barrel of which two ropes passed through two pulleys to the front of the partition. The prisoner was partially stripped, and, having a sort of handcuff placed on each wrist, he was placed with his back to the partition. The two ropes, one on each side, being fastened to the cuffs on his wrists, were drawn tight, and the prisoner's arms were thus extended on each side of him, and the pressure was increased till his arms were dragged from their sockets.

Another machine, also bearing the name of the rack, but called by the Spaniards "*Escalero*," and by the French "*Chevalet*," was a sort of frame work, or trough, in which the prisoner was laid, but in such a manner that a cross piece, like the step of a ladder, prevented him resting on the bottom; his back rested on this cross piece, and his feet were slightly raised above the level of his head, a position which, to some extent, impeded breathing. He

was then bound to the sides of the machine by three or four cords round each arm, and the same number round each leg, each cord passing round the limb about three times, and each having inserted in it a thick stick, for the purpose of tightening. On the word being given, each of these sticks had a wrench given it, and the cords were thus tightened in the same manner as ropes are on carrier's carts; and turn after turn was given, until the cords cut into the flesh to an extent that rendered them invisible. It is not to be supposed that this process could be pursued without drawing blood, and this to such an extent as, with the pain, to cause the prisoner to faint. If this did not happen, the process might be sometimes continued, by re-adjusting the cords on uninjured places, and then re-tightening them.

But, as if such diabolical cruelty was insufficient, another process was gone through, while the prisoner was in course of being so tortured. His nose was stopped, so that he could not breathe through it; and a piece of linen, in the shape of a bag, was put into his mouth, and just inserted in his throat. Into this bag was poured water, which, in consequence of the interposition of the linen, could escape into the throat only drop by drop. The insertion of the linen in the throat rendered it impossible to breathe, and in his desperate efforts to draw his breath, the prisoner frequently burst bloodvessels, and sometimes died under the infliction. As much as seven English pints of water have sometimes been poured down the throat in this manner; a fact

which, considering that only a very small stream or thread of water was allowed to run, will give some idea of the time during which the process was continued.

If the accused was not too much exhausted by the last process, he was subjected to another. He was fixed in a machine with his head downwards, a position which, taking into account the probable derangement of his system from previous tortures, would cause him to disgorge the large quantity of water which he had previously swallowed.

The description we have given of the various tortures inflicted by the Inquisition will not apply to every individual tribunal. There were variations in the degree of torture, and frequently in the description of the machines used. For instance, in some tribunals, instead of the rack being used, the prisoner was forced up against the wall, and cords over his body, running through rings fastened in the wall, were tightened so as to cut into his flesh. In others, *the dice*, and *the canes*, were used. The iron dice were fastened by a machine to the heel of the feet, and were by screws forced through the flesh till they came to the bone. Canes were placed crosswise between the fingers of the hands, and by pressure a most unbearable pain was inflicted.

Besides the more severe tortures we have mentioned, there were others of a minor character; for instance, small cords were sometimes tied round the thumb, and drawn so tight that the blood was forced from beneath the nails; red hot irons were applied to the breasts and sides till they burnt to the bone;

and in one instance, which will be related hereafter, a red hot iron slipper was placed on the foot of a female, till the flesh was burnt off, and the bone laid bare.

We cannot close this part of the subject without stating, that in cases where females were brought before the Inquisition (and they were by no means unfrequently so), they were treated in a most immodest and brutal manner, and were subjected by the functionaries of the holy office to insults and injuries of the most revolting character.

REQUISITION.

The *Requisition*, or accusation, of the procurator fiscal was never given to the accused in writing, lest he might reflect on the charges in prison, and be prepared with clear and intelligible replies. He was conducted to the audience chamber, and the secretary there read, one by one, the charges, to each of which the accused was required to give an immediate answer. It is evident that such a course as this was intended most unfairly to entrap him into unguarded admissions or assertions, which were afterwards to be used against him, as he was called on to reply to the first of a series of charges, while he was in complete ignorance as to the character of those which were to follow. In cases of offences against society, such stratagems would be more justifiable; but in cases of heresy no such excuse could be offered, more especially when the officers of the holy office took credit to themselves for the exhibition of so much charity and mercy.

DEFENCE.

After the accusation had been read, the accused was asked whether he wished to make a defence. If he replied in the affirmative, he was required to select an advocate, from the list of those belonging to the holy office. The accused sometimes demanded permission to appoint an advocate unconnected with the holy office, but although in some cases such leave was granted, on the advocate taking an oath of secrecy, and although it was contrary to no law, yet in the majority of cases it was not allowed. On the advocate being appointed, he was furnished with a copy of the *accusation*, and of the prisoner's replies to it, as well as with a copy of the *preliminary instruction*, in which the depositions of the witnesses are set down, with the *very trifling* omissions of the names of the witnesses, the circumstances of time and place, and what had been said in defence of the prisoner! In this document, also, there was no mention made of the declarations of witnesses, who, having been called before the holy office and examined, had persisted in declaring that they knew nothing against the accused. The advocate was also furnished with a copy of the censure of the qualifiers, and the demand of the fiscal for the examination. He was then obliged to promise that he would defend the prisoner only if he believed him innocent; while, if he believed him guilty, he would do his best to induce him to confess his crimes, and to beg forgiveness and reconciliation. Seeing the disadvantages under which any advocate must labour, who had no aids afforded him but those

we have mentioned, it will be clear that the whole form was a mere mockery and delusion, and that it was intentionally so. The only thing the advocate could do was to point out some slight discrepancies which might appear in the various statements constituting the accusation ; and this was seldom of any use to the accused, inasmuch as neither he nor his advocate were aware of the names of the witnesses. In these circumstances, the advocate would advise the accused to *challenge the witnesses*, by which means he might succeed in destroying either the whole or a part of the evidence. If this recommendation was adopted, the inquisitors gave the necessary orders to *prove the irregularity of the witnesses*.

PROOF.

The original declarations of the witnesses were then separated from the process, and were sent to the places where they resided, that they might be *ratified*. This process took place without the knowledge of the prisoner, and he was consequently unable, in this case, to exercise the privilege which had been nominally granted him, of challenging the witnesses, even although they might be his greatest enemies ; and the trial was suspended for an indefinite period, till these ratifications were effected. It frequently happened that witnesses had removed to various parts of the globe, and their declarations had to be sent after them. If the accused demanded an audience, to complain of the delay in his case, he was not informed of the real reason, but was told that the holy office could not

proceed more quickly. The accused *challenged the witnesses*, by naming those whom he considered his enemies, the reasons why he so considered them, and the persons who could vouch for the truth of his statements in these respects. In doing this, he by chance *might* mention those who really were witnesses against him, or he *might not*. If he did, the inquisitors, unless they had some motive for the adoption of an opposite course, ordered that the persons named by the accused as cognisant of the truth of his assertions should be examined. The effect of the challenge was sometimes destroyed by the fiscal secretly obtaining proofs of the morality of the witnesses. If a witness was proved to be the declared enemy of the accused, the evidence was reduced in its force, though it was not annihilated. But it often happened that accusations were the result of superstition, scruples of conscience, or fanaticism, and in these cases no challenge of the witnesses would avail the accused, as he would be unable to prove that these witnesses were influenced by a direct wish to injure him.*

* A case mentioned by Llorente may be related, illustrating this. A young lady, influenced by some extraordinary scruple of conscience, denounced her lover to the holy office, little dreaming, we may suppose, of the consequences with which such a proceeding might be attended. Fortunately for both parties, however, she confided the secret to her confessor, who, being the friend of the youth, lost no time in apprising him of his danger, and counselling him how to act in the critical situation in which his pious mistress had placed him. Accordingly, the young man repaired to the chambers of the Inquisition, and by a spontaneous confession put an end to

PUBLICATION OF THE PROOFS.

The *proofs* having been established, the *publication of the proofs* took place. This simply meant that an unfaithful copy of the depositions, and other matters, contained in the extract furnished for the defence, was read in the presence of the inquisitors to the prisoner, who was asked, after the reading of each article, whether he acknowledged the truth of it. His answers were taken down, and when the whole of the papers had been read, he might, if he had not previously done so, challenge the witnesses. If he declined objecting to them, and confined himself to replying to the accusations, he probably made his condition worse, as the answers he had previously given would then be produced, and compared with those now given. A length of time having intervened, it would be singular if the replies exactly corresponded. If they did *not*, he might be considered guilty of duplicity, and might not only be refused *reconciliation*, but might be condemned to be *relaxed*, or in other words *burnt*.

DEFINITIVE CENSURE OF THE QUALIFIERS.

The qualifiers were now furnished with the

the affair, which, had it proceeded, would have infallibly led to his arrest in the first instance, and ultimately to the disgrace of appearing in an *auto da fé*, wearing the *san-benito*, or habit of infamy. In this case, it is clear that, but for the kind offices of the friendly ecclesiastic, the young man would never have dreamt of suspecting his mistress; and even had he learned the truth, he could have taken no valid exception to her testimony. It is probable he took the hint, and afterwards made love with more caution.

original documents relating to the case, their *qualification* of the charges, the depositions of the witnesses, and the defence of the accused; and were required to qualify the propositions a second time, and to decide whether the evidence since given, or the defence or answers of the accused, had at all altered the complexion of the case. This part of the proceedings was a most important one, yet the qualifiers seldom gave themselves the trouble to read the papers over carefully, but gave a hasty opinion on the subject. This was the last important act in the proceedings: the rest was mere form.

SENTENCE.

The diocesan in ordinary was now called in, that he might aid the inquisitors in deciding on the sentence. In the early history of the Inquisition, doctors of law, called *consulters*, were called on to perform this duty, but they had only a deliberative voice, and the inquisitors, alone having the right to vote, invariably carried their point when opinion was divided. At that time there was no appeal from the decision of the inquisitors to the supreme council, though such appeal was granted by several bulls issued by the Popes. This being considered a great hardship, the inquisitors of the provinces were then obliged to submit their sentence, previously to its being pronounced, to the supreme council, who altered and amended it as they thought proper, and this regulation rendered it unnecessary to continue the practice of calling in consultants. On the supreme council intimating their judgment, the sentence was

established by the inquisitors *as their own*, although their decision might have been reversed by the council. The accused, unless there was the clearest evidence of his innocence, had no chance of leaving the Inquisition unsullied in reputation, for there were as many degrees of punishment as there were degrees of guilt, and the slightest indiscretion subjected him to a punishment more or less severe. If suspected *de levi*, or in the lowest degree, he was sentenced to undergo certain penances, and was afterwards absolved from censures *ad cautelam*.* The number of those actually acquitted by the holy office, previous to the reign of Philip III., was about one in two thousand. Those acquitted were allowed to return to their homes and their families, with certificates of absolution; but no reparation was made by the holy office for the loss of health, honour, or property; nor were the names of the false witnesses, who had been instrumental in procuring denunciations, given up. In fact, the holy office found unjust accusations so profitable, that it could not afford to be either merciful or just.

EXECUTION OF THE SENTENCE.

The punishments of the holy office were of two kinds,—*Reconciliation*, and *Relaxation*. *Reconciliation* included every degree of punishment, from

* When absolved *ad cautelam*, the prisoner was required, on his knees, to ask pardon of the inquisitors, to pronounce and sign the formula of abjuration, consenting to be treated with the greatest severity if again denounced for a similar offence.

the slightest penance to imprisonment for life in the dungeons of the Inquisition. *Relaxation* was the delivery of the body of the accused to the secular power, that it might be consigned to the flames. Those only were *relaxed* who had been once *reconciled*, and afterwards relapsed, or sometimes those convicted of formal heresy. The sentence was not communicated to the prisoner till it was about to be carried into effect. Certain times were appointed for the celebration of *autos da fé*, at which the sentences of the prisoners were read, and the sentences thereafter executed. The prisoners were dressed in conical caps and *san-benitos*, dresses of yellow stuff, descending to the knees, having distinctive marks upon them according to the degree of the wearer's guilt and the punishment about to be inflicted. Those *slightly suspected* of heresy wore the *san-benito* plain. Those *violently suspected* had half of a cross painted in red on their dress. Those convicted of *formal heresy* had the red cross entire. For those condemned to be *relaxed*, or burnt, there were three varieties of dress. Those who repented before sentence was decided on, wore the *san-benito* with a red cross, and a conical hat with a similar cross. Those who repented *after* sentence was passed, and were in consequence to be mercifully strangled at the stake previous to being burnt, had, in addition to the cross on the *san-benito*, a bust, (a likeness of the wearer,) in the midst of flames which were reversed. The *caroza*, or hat, was painted in the same manner. Those who, not hav-

ing repented at all, were to be burnt alive, had their *san-benitos* and *carozas* painted in the same manner as those last described, with the exception that the flames were in their natural position, that a portrait of the wearer was painted on it, and that the picturesque effect of the whole was heightened by the addition of grotesque figures of devils: a quiet intimation, no doubt, of the locality to which the functionaries of the holy office wished, in their Christian charity, to consign the victims of their cruelty. The locality fixed for the celebration of the *auto da fé* was generally a large square or space of ground out of town; and all sermons, except that preached at the *auto da fé*, were forbidden on that day, the population being invited to attend and take part in the celebration. The victims, dressed as already described, each bearing a rope of broom round his neck, and a green wax taper in his hand, were marched slowly, in procession, and by the most circuitous route, to the place fixed upon. They were placed in the midst of the multitude, who were accommodated as far as possible with seats, in a vast square of raised seats; and the officiating priest having preached a sermon, and gone through certain ceremonies, the sentences were read, those subjected to slight punishments (generally flagellation) having them inflicted; and those condemned to be burnt, being handed over to the secular powers, and conveyed to the place of execution, (which was often erected in another locality,) were consigned to the flames. We must not omit to remark, as a proof

of the mercy of the executioners, that occasionally, in cases where a condemned heretic repented at the stake, he was strangled previous to being burnt, or some substance was thrown into the flames calculated to raise a dense smoke, and suffocate the victim previous to the flames reaching him. At Venice, the condemned heretic was carried, at dead of night, from his cell to a gondola, in which he was conveyed, with the attendance of none but the boatmen and a priest, beyond the two castles. There another boat was waiting. A plank having been placed between the two boats, the prisoner was laid on it with his body chained, and a heavy weight attached to his feet. On a given signal, the boats retired from each other, and he was precipitated into the deep !

CHAPTER IV.

DON DIEGO DEZA, (a Dominican,) Bishop of Jaen, and afterwards Archbishop of Seville, was recommended to the Pope by Ferdinand and Isabella, as successor to Torquemada, and he was confirmed in his office by a papal bull on the 1st December, 1498. The Pope having limited his authority to Castile alone, Deza refused to accept the office, unless he was invested with the same powers as his predecessor had possessed; and accordingly, by a bull issued in 1499, he was constituted Inquisitor General of Arragon. He was no unworthy successor of the bloodthirsty Torquemada, as was proved not only by his personal activity in the conduct of the Inquisition, but by new articles which he promulgated to increase its efficiency, and by his practical suggestions to Ferdinand as to the extension of the holy tribunal to Sicily and Naples. In the former it had been established in 1452, and even before that date, but the dislike of the inhabitants had prevented its obtaining a secure footing. By a decree in 1500, Ferdinand attempted to re-establish it in Sicily, but the resistance which was for some time made by the inhabitants prevented its being at once accomplished. At length, after the quelling of several seditions, Don Pedro Velorade, Archbishop

of Messina, who had been appointed Sub-Inquisitor General of Sicily, was enabled to enter on his office. In 1516 the Sicilians revolted, broke open the prisons of the holy office, set all the prisoners at liberty, and threatened the lives of the then inquisitor, de Cervera, and the viceroy, both of whom escaped with difficulty. It was, however, firmly re-established by Charles V., on his accession.

In 1504 Ferdinand attempted to introduce the Inquisition into Naples; but all the power which he exerted in furtherance of this object was insufficient to overcome the resistance of the Neapolitans, and the attempt was, for the time, abandoned; only to be renewed, however, in 1510, and with the same result. Ferdinand, being foiled, then said that he would be satisfied with the expulsion of the new Christians who had settled there.

In defiance of a specific agreement with the Moors of Granada to the contrary, Deza recommended that the Inquisition should be established in it. Isabella refused, but agreed that the inquisitors of Cordova should have jurisdiction over Granada, it being understood that the Moors were to be prosecuted only in case of actual apostasy. The Moors had been converted to Christianity in large numbers, (some say 50,000,) and a larger number still would have become attached to it, had not cruel measures been adopted against them. Forced conversions were attempted, and resisted by the Moors, until they were overcome by numbers. Many were allowed to sell their goods, and emigrate to Africa, on paying a considerable sum each; others went to

Portugal. The Jews visiting Spain on business were much harassed by Deza and his subordinates, being compelled to prove their conversion, and to appear regularly in the churches. In Arragon, the inquisitors began to take cognisance of usury, and other crimes not properly coming under their jurisdiction, and this in violation of the oath which Ferdinand took to uphold the ancient constitution of that kingdom.

While Deza was inquisitor general, 38,440 persons are said to have been condemned by the tribunals of Spain; namely, 2592 burnt, 896 burnt in effigy, and 34,952 having various penances imposed. He by no means confined the prosecutions of the holy office to the middle or lower orders, but allowed his inquisitors occasionally to strike at higher game. Lucero, one of his inquisitors, was permitted to attack Talavera, first Archbishop of Granada, and Antonio Lebrija, at one time the tutor of Isabella. The former was acquitted, the trial having lasted three years; the latter was convicted of heresy, and compelled to write an apology. This same Lucero caused the greatest indignation among the inhabitants of Cordova, by the immense number of arrests of members of noble families upon frivolous grounds, or upon no grounds at all. The heads of the churches, the municipality, and the nobility, memorialised Deza to recall Lucero, and, on his refusal, were on the point of revolting, when Philip I. ascended the throne, in 1506, (Isabella having died in 1504,) and, on having the case represented to him, deprived Deza of his office, and appointed as

his successor Ravinez de Guzman, who immediately suspended Lucero, and his fellow inquisitors of Cordova. In consequence of Philip's almost immediate death, Deza resumed his position, declared all that had been done during his absence void, and by his proceedings excited a revolt in Cordova. The prisons of the Inquisition were broken open, an immense number of prisoners liberated, and several of the officers taken prisoners. The swiftness of Lucero's mule enabled him to escape. This outburst so alarmed Deza, that he resigned his office, and retired to Seville.

Ferdinand, in 1509, decreed that no bull or other document, even from the Pope, should be presented to the officers of the holy office without his express sanction; a very necessary precaution, as the inquisitors wished to be free from all liability to account for their acts to the secular powers, that they might carry on their persecutions with impunity.

In Deza's place, Ximenes de Cisneros was appointed Inquisitor General of Castile, and Juan Enguera, Inquisitor General of Arragon. The former, seeing the excited state of the public mind, and his own consequent delicate position, dismissed Lucero, who had been the principal cause of the late disturbance, and, with a council of twenty-one, commenced an inquiry into the credibility of the witnesses' depositions, which had been instrumental in effecting the arrest of the large number whose confinement had precipitated the revolt. The report which the council made, in July, 1508, was to the effect that the characters of the witnesses in ques-

tion were contemptible; their statements, on that account, as well as by reason of their numerous contradictions, utterly unworthy of belief; and that the accused had their honour vindicated. All who had not died were consequently released, and orders given that their houses (which had been destroyed, on its being reported that they were used as synagogues,) should be rebuilt.

The comparatively mild character, temperate procedure, and great tact of Cisneros reconciled the Spaniards to some extent to the Inquisition, and prevented its abolition, which would in all probability have been the result of a perseverance in harsh measures, such as Deza adopted. Cisneros partially relieved the country by reducing the number of tribunals, and instead of having one in each bishopric he distributed them according to the provinces. He established them at Seville, Cordova, Jaen, Toledo, Estremadura, Murcia, Valladolid, Calahorra, the Canary Isles, Cuenca, Oran (in Algiers), and shortly after in America. With respect to Arragon, the same plan was adopted, and the tribunals were established at Saragossa, Barcelona, Valencia, Majorca, Sardinia, Sicily, and Pampeluna; the last of which was afterwards transferred to the jurisdiction of the Inquisitor General of Castile, who placed it under the control of the inquisitors of Calahorra. During this period Cisneros appointed particular churches for the new Christians, who were thus relieved from much trouble and harassing care; yet, notwithstanding his comparatively mild ministry, Llorente estimates the number of victims at 3564

burnt, 1232 burnt in effigy, and 48,059 condemned to various penances: total, 52,855. We imagine that Llorente has guessed at these figures, since the average number per annum, stated to have been punished during the eleven years of Cisnero's inquisitorship, happens to be precisely the same as the average during Deza's eight years of office.

Despite the privileges which the new Christians now enjoyed, they still felt apprehensive, and hearing, in 1512, that Ferdinand was likely to make war against the King of Navarre, they offered him 600,000 ducats to defray a portion of the expense, if he would cause the trials of the Inquisition to be made public. He would probably have accepted the offer, had not Cisneros craftily offered him *unconditionally* a large sum, smaller, however, than that first named. He accepted the latter, and determined to make no reforms. Ferdinand died in January, 1516, and was succeeded by Charles V. of Germany, his grandson, to whom the new Christians, in 1517, made a similar offer, increasing the amount to 800,000 ducats. Cisneros reminded Charles that his grandfather had declined the offering previously made, but artfully concealed the fact that he had done so in consequence of a sum having been unconditionally placed at his disposal. Charles did not at the time make any change, but on the death of Cisneros (in 1517) he granted the required privilege, which appears, however, never to have been practically enjoyed.

On the death of Enguera, the Inquisitor General

of Arragon, Don Louis Mercader succeeded him. The latter died in 1516, and on the recommendation of Ximenes, the Dean of Louvain, who afterwards became Adrian VI., received the double appointments of Bishop of Tortosa and Inquisitor General of Arragon. In addition to these offices, he was, on the death of Cisneros, appointed to succeed him as Inquisitor General of Castile. These offices he continued to hold till September, 1523, although he had been elected to the popedom in January, 1522. On the 10th September, 1523, he signed the bulls of his successor, de Lara, Archbishop of Seville.

During the lifetime of Ferdinand, many complaints were made to him by the deputies, of the cruelties, extortions, and usurpations of the inquisitors of Arragon, and he was requested to compel them to consider none but matters of faith, and to act according to common law, by granting the publicity of the proceedings. Without pledging himself to anything, the king requested the Cortes to collect all the information they could on the subject, and lay it before him. This they did, in 1512, and, with the consent of the king, measures were then adopted, calculated to restrain the inquisitors within due bounds. They were not to be allowed to interfere in trials for bigamy, usury, or blasphemy, nor in any case where it was not clear that heresy could be proved against the accused; nor was the inquisitor general to be allowed to pronounce judgment in cases of appeal, unless with the consent of his counsellors; and in such cases of appeal, the execution of the

sentence was to be delayed. The proceedings were still to be private, and no alteration of the system of confiscation was to be made.

In consequence of the intrigues of the inquisitors, the king soon repented the concessions he had made, and on the 30th April, 1513, he applied to the Pope for a dispensation to relieve him from his engagement, and obtained it. One of the provisions of this dispensation was, that the Inquisition should now be re-invested with all the privileges which it anciently possessed. This, being in direct opposition to the regulations of the Cortes, caused a revolt, which compelled Ferdinand again to apply to the Pope, requesting that he would rescind his last dispensation. The necessity was great; and the chance of losing the whole of his power in Spain, by refusing, impelled the Pope, in 1515, to yield, for the sake of preserving a portion of it.

During the inquisitor generalship of Ximenes de Cisneros, for eleven years, namely, from 1507 to 1518, the number condemned in Castile and Arragon was, burnt, 2536; burnt in effigy, 1368; penances, 47,263—total, 51,167.

The earlier part of the reign of Charles V. was marked by various attempts, on the part of the Cortes of Spain, to reform the Inquisition. In these attempts they were at one time encouraged, at another opposed, by Charles, who, in this matter at least, shewed an indefiniteness of purpose, and an imbecility of mind, not usually attributed to him. In 1518, while Adrian was Inquisitor General, the Cortes of Castile, who held a general assembly at

Valladolid, requested that the king would command the inquisitors to abide by the rules of the common law, as respected the publicity of the trials and other matters. At the same time, they sent 10,000 ducats to the chancellor, with an intimation that a further sum of the same amount would be handed to him on the required forms being granted. The emperor requested that they would publish a statement of the complaints they had to make, and suggest means of abolishing the abuses; and undertook to adopt the measures necessary to meet their views. After the Cortes of Castile had concluded their session, Charles convoked the Cortes of Arragon, at which the Chancellor Selvagio was prepared to publish a royal ordinance, which he had drawn up, for the correction of the abuses complained of. Its provisions were of the most satisfactory kind, stipulating for the fair trial of the accused, the publicity of the proceedings, the protection of the witnesses, the abolition of the practice of inflicting excessive and cruel torture, the challenging of witnesses, &c. Before he could publish this ordinance Selvagio died, and these comparatively just measures were never put in practice, for Cardinal Adrian's representations induced Charles to uphold the iniquities of the Inquisition. The Cortes renewed their applications to Charles from time to time, but with little or no effect; for instead of the burthens complained of being lightened, they were, if possible, increased, and made more intolerable. It is impossible to avoid coming to the conclusion that in this matter Charles acted hypocritically towards the Cortes of

Spain, promising reforms which he never intended to make. Although he had sworn to maintain the laws of the kingdom in their full integrity, he allowed the arrest of John Prat, Secretary of the Cortes of Arragon, because he ventured, on their order, to draw up certain propositions which were to be submitted to the Pope. As Charles refused to accede to their demands, (one of which was for the release of Prat,) the Cortes decided that no levy should be raised, and they appealed to the Pope, who, being at the time incensed at some slight offered him by the heads of the Spanish Inquisition, determined to reform it. He accordingly expedited three briefs, addressed respectively to Charles, to Cardinal Adrian, and to the Inquisitors of Saragossa, in which he decreed that the inquisitors should be deprived of their offices, and others appointed by the bishops and chapters and the Inquisitor General jointly. Owing, however, to the representations of Charles, and to the fact of Leo having probably to some extent got the better of his anger, this decree appears never to have been enforced; but the solicitations of the deputies to the Pope were so urgent, that the Emperor could not prevail upon him to revoke his briefs.

Leo X. having died in December, 1521, was succeeded in the popedom, in January, 1522, by Adrian VI., who, in September of the next year, appointed Manriquez, Archbishop of Seville, to the office of Inquisitor General. In the five years during which Adrian held the office of inquisitor general, the number of those condemned by the holy office

was at least 28,220 ; namely, burnt 1344 ; burnt in effigy, 672 ; penances, 26,214.

Manriquez was inquisitor general during a period of about fifteen years, from 1523 to 1538. The principal occurrences during the early part of his ministry were, the partial abolition of the severities practised by the Inquisition on the Moors, and the imposition of additional cruelties on the Jews. This exemption of the Moors arose partly from an enquiry being instituted by Charles as to their condition, and its being found that they had great cause of complaint against the priests and inquisitors ; and partly from the fact that they paid a large sum in consideration of the protection of their property from forfeiture on the relapse of those who had become Christians, and of their being allowed to wear their national costume.

About this time the doctrines of Luther and his fellow reformers began to spread, and in a very short period they provided abundant employment for the priests and inquisitors, the former of whom set about reading and confuting the works of the heretics, while the latter increased their stock of faggots, and burnt heretical writings and their writers. The Pope, in 1521 and 1523, requested the governors of the provinces of Castile to prevent the introduction of Luther's works into the kingdom ; and the inquisitors were ordered by Cardinal Adrian, in the former year, to seize all such works as might be found. In 1525, Manriquez prohibited the reading, explaining, or selling the Colloquies of Erasmus. Charles V. commissioned the University of Louvain

to publish a list of dangerous books, and the plan was highly approved of by the Pope. In 1540, a decree was issued, prohibiting the works of Luther from being read, on pain of death. The severity of the punishment gave great offence, and, instead of deterring, only added to the number of secret readers. The list of dangerous books was published in 1546, and the inquisitor general, in 1549, enlarged it by the addition of several more works. In 1550, a new list was published, with a supplement of books already prohibited in Spain;* and a copy was forwarded to each inquisitor, who had previously received orders from the inquisitor general not to allow any one to possess any of the prohibited works, nor to permit any of the consulters of the holy office either to read or to keep them, although, in the administration of their office, such works might be thrown in their way.† Such were the precautions which were then taken to prevent men understanding or discussing religious questions. While Manriquez

* It is related that one of the Spanish lists of prohibited books particularised the various passages in works only partly condemned, and that the extracts which it gave were so racy, that the volume, though compiled for a very different purpose, was frequently used as a means of amusement. So little was this to the liking of the Congregation of the Index, that they actually prohibited this volume in the next edition. Hence it has been remarked that the Index was itself once inserted in the list of prohibited books.

† Inquisitors or other officers had to ask permission before they could read any of the prohibited works. In Italy, (and probably also in Spain,) an application to the Congregation of the Index was generally made in the following form:—
“Most eminent lords, Whereas A. B., inquisitor in the city of

was Inquisitor General, there were many trials for heresy, sorcery, &c., some of which, being interesting, we shall relate.

Juan de Vergara, a canon of Toledo, who had been secretary to Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneros, had a profound knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages, and observed some faults in the translation of the Vulgate. This gave offence to some monks, "who," says Llorente, "had only studied Latin and the jargon of the schools." They succeeded in imprisoning him in the Inquisition of Toledo, and he was released only after he had been subjected to the abjuration of Lutheran heresies, and had undergone various penances.

Alphonso Virues was preacher to Charles V., one of the most eminent theologians of his time, and

C., wishes to obtain leave of reading forbidden books belonging to the said his employment, and for his better erudition also books of History, Poetry, and Polite Literature, he most humbly craves of your eminences the said leave or faculty." If such an application was granted, the following authority, or one very similar, would be sent to the applicant:—"By a decree of the sacred Congregation of the Index, let it be granted for three years to the aforesaid petitioner, if what he said in his petition be true, to keep and read forbidden books of Divinity, and also History, Poetry, Rhetoric, and Philosophy, except all superstitious books, as well as the works of Nicholas Machiavel, Ludovic Mainbourg, Adonis of Marino, and the books of the heretics in which the Catholic religion is *ex professo* impugned. And if, upon the occasion of obtaining the present leave, anything, however little, be given either before or after the obtaining the same, then let such leave or faculty, obtained after this way, be of no effect, and of no value or force." This is a copy of the permission granted to Piazza, a vicar of the Inquisition in Osimo.

was one of a commission which, in 1527, judged the works of Erasmus. He was so great a favourite with Charles that he accompanied him to Germany, and on returning to Spain, the Emperor would hear no other preacher. The monks were offended at the emperor's partiality, and raised a report of Virues being tainted with the Lutheran heresies, in consequence of which, he was imprisoned in the Inquisition of Seville. Charles was exasperated at the incarceration of his favourite, and believing that it arose from a plot which Manriquez might have prevented had he been so inclined, he banished the inquisitor general to his archbishopric of Seville, where he died in 1538. Notwithstanding the efforts of Charles, Virues suffered four years' secret imprisonment, "during which time," says he, "I was scarcely allowed to breathe, or to occupy myself with anything but charges, replies, testimonies, defences, libels, means, acts, or with heresies, blasphemies, errors, anathemas, schisms, and other monsters, which, with labours that may be compared with those of Hercules, I have at last conquered, with the aid of Jesus Christ, so that I am now justified through your majesty's protection." He was condemned to be absolved from the censures which had been pronounced, to be confined to a monastery for two years, and to be prohibited from preaching for two years after his release. Charles appealed to the Pope against this sentence, and succeeded in obtaining from him a bull, containing a dispensation, by which Virues was relieved from the various punishments to which he had been con-

demned. Charles afterwards presented him to the Pope for the bishopric of the Canaries, but the latter refused him, on the ground that the suspicion excited as to the purity of his faith rendered him ineligible. Charles still insisting on carrying his point, the Pope gave way, and Virues was appointed in 1540.

In 1527, Juan de Salas was imprisoned in the Inquisition of Valladolid, on the charge of having used heretical language. The grossest unfairness was shewn by the inquisitors, who refused to hear the witnesses whom the accused wished to call; and they did not abide by their own rules, which would have afforded Salas some advantage. He denied the use of the words imputed to him, and was then consigned to the torture by the inquisitors, Moriz and his colleague Alvarada. The following is the verbal process of the execution of the torture:—

“At Valladolid, on the 21st June, 1527, the licentiate Moriz, Inquisitor, caused the licentiate Juan de Salas to appear before him. After the reading, the said licentiate Salas declared, that *he had not said that of which he was accused*; and the said licentiate Moriz immediately caused him to be conducted to the chamber of torture, where, being stripped to his shirt, Salas was put by the shoulders into the *chevalet*, where the executioner, Pedro Porras, fastened him by the arms and legs with cords of hemp, of which he made eleven turns round each limb; Salas, during the time that the said Pedro was tying him thus, was several times warned to speak the truth, to which he always replied that *he*

had never said what he was accused of. He recited the creed, "*Quicumque vult,*" and several times gave thanks to God and our Lady; and the said Salas being still tied as before mentioned, a fine wet cloth was put over his face, and about a pint of water was poured into his mouth and nostrils, from an earthen vessel with a hole at the bottom, and containing about two quarts; nevertheless, Salas persisted in denying the accusation. Then Pedro Porras tightened the cords on the right leg, and poured a second measure of water on the face; the cords were tightened a second time on the same leg, but Juan de Salas still persisted in denying that he had ever said anything of the kind; and although pressed to tell the truth several times, he still denied the accusation. Then the said licentiate Moriz, having declared that the torture *was begun, but not finished*, commanded that it should cease. The accused was withdrawn from the *chevalet*, or *rack*, at which execution I, Henry Paz, was present from the beginning to the end.—HENRY PAZ, Notary."

On this trial and punishment Llorente observes:

"We may form an idea of the humanity of the Inquisition of Valladolid, from the definitive sentence pronounced by the licentiate Moriz and his colleague doctor Alvarado, without any other formality, after they had taken (if we may believe them) the advice of persons noted for their learning and virtue, but without the adjournment which ought to have preceded it, and without the concurrence of the diocesan in ordinary. They declared that the fiscal had

not entirely approved the accusation, and that the prisoner had succeeded in destroying some of the charges; but that on account of the suspicion arising from the trial, Juan de Salas was condemned to the punishment of the public *auto da fé*, in his shirt, without a cloak, his head uncovered, and with a torch in his hand; that he should abjure heresy publicly, and that he should pay ten ducats of gold to the Inquisition, and fulfil his penance in the church assigned. It is seen, by a certificate afterwards given in, that Juan de Salas performed his *auto da fé*, on the 24th of June, 1528, and that his father paid the fine; the trial offers no other peculiarity. This affair, and several others of a similar nature, caused the supreme council to publish a decree in 1558, commanding that the torture should not be administered without an order from the council."

The sect of sorcerers having made great progress both in Spain and Portugal, Manriquez made it imperative on all christians to "declare to the Inquisition,—First, if they had heard that any person had familiar spirits, and that he invoked demons in circles, questioning them and expecting their answer, as a magician, or in virtue of an express or tacit compact; that he had mingled holy things with profane objects, and worshiped in the creature that which belongs only to the Creator. Secondly, if he had studied judicial astrology to discover the future, by observing the conjunction of the stars at the birth of persons. Thirdly, if any person, in order to discover the future, had employed *geomancy*,

hydromancy, æromancy, piromancy, onomancy, necromancy, or sorceries by beans, dice, or wheat. Fourthly, if a Christian had made an express compact with the devil, practised enchantments by magic, with instruments, circles, characters, or diabolical signs; by invoking and consulting demons, with the hope of a reply, and placing confidence in them; by offering them incense, or the smoke of good or bad substances; by offering sacrifices to them; in abusing sacraments or holy things; by promising obedience to them, and adoring or worshiping them in any manner. Fifthly, if any one constructed or procured mirrors, rings, phials, or other vessels, for the purpose of attracting, enclosing, and preserving a demon, who replies to his questions, and assists him in obtaining his wishes; or who had endeavoured to discover the future, by interrogating the demons in possessed people; or tried to produce the same effect by invoking the devil under the name of *holy angel*, or *white angel*, and by asking things of him with prayers and humility; by practising other superstitious ceremonies, with vases, phials of water, or consecrated tapers; by the inspection of the nails, and of the palm of the hand rubbed with vinegar; or by endeavouring to obtain representations of objects by means of phantoms, in order to learn secret things, or which had not then happened. Sixthly, if any one had read or possessed, or read or possessed at present, any manuscript or book on these matters, or concerning all other species of divination, which is not performed by natural or physical effects."

From the preceding, it will appear evident that the *learned* men of the time of Charles V. were strong believers in the existence of sorcerers and magicians, and their wonderful powers. If any corroboration of this were wanting, it would be furnished by the following "HISTORY OF A FAMOUS MAGICIAN," which Llorente has related.

The author of Don Quixote, in the adventure of the Countess Trifaldi, represents that famous knight as mounted upon *Clavelino*, with Sancho Panza behind him, having their eyes covered; the squire wishes to uncover his eyes, to see if they had arrived at the region of fire. Don Quixote says, "Take care not to do it, and remember the true history of the licentiate Torralba, who, being mounted on a cane, with his eyes covered, was conveyed through the air by devils, and arrived at Rome in twelve hours, and descended on the tower of Nona, which is in a street of that city, where he saw the tumult, assault, and death of the Constable de Bourbon, and returned to Madrid before morning, where he gave an account of what he had seen. He also related that while he was in the air, the devil told him to open his eyes, and that he saw himself so near the moon that he might have touched it with his hand, and that he did not dare to look towards the earth, for fear of fainting."

The Doctor Eugene Torralba was born in the town of Cuenca. In an examination, he stated that at the age of fifteen he went to Rome, where he was made a page of Don Francis Soderini, Bishop of Volterra, who was made a cardinal in 1503. He

studied medicine under several masters, who in their disputes attacked the immortality of the soul; and, though they did not succeed in convincing him, caused him to incline to pyrrhonism. Torralba was a physician in 1501, at which period he became intimately acquainted with Master Alphonso, of Rome, who had renounced the law of Moses for that of Mahomet, which he quitted for the Christian doctrine, and finished by preferring natural religion. Alphonso told him that Jesus Christ was only a man, and supported his opinion with several arguments. This doctrine did not entirely eradicate the faith of Torralba, but he no longer knew on which side the truth lay.

Among the friends he acquired at Rome was a monk of St. Dominic, called brother Peter. This man told him, one day, that he had in his service one of the good angels, whose name was Zequiël, so powerful in the knowledge of the future, that no other could equal him; but that he abhorred the practice of obliging men to make a compact with him; that he was always free, and only served the person who placed confidence in him, through friendship, and that he allowed him to reveal the secrets he communicated, but that any constraint employed to force him to answer questions made him for ever abandon the society of the man to whom he had attached himself. Brother Peter asked him whether he would not like to have Zequiël for his friend, adding, that he could obtain that favour, on account of the friendship which subsisted between them.

Torralba expressed the greatest desire to become acquainted with the spirit of brother Peter. Zequiél soon appeared, in the shape of a young man, fair, with flaxen hair, dressed in flesh colour, with a black surtout. He said to Torralba, "I will belong to thee as long as thou livest, and will follow thee wherever thou goest." After this promise Zequiél appeared to Torralba at the different quarters of the moon, and whenever he wished to go from one place to another, sometimes in the figure of a traveller, sometimes like a hermit. Zequiél never spoke against the Christian religion, nor advised him to commit any bad action: on the contrary, he reproached him when he committed a fault, and attended the church service with him. He always spoke in Latin or Italian, although he was with Torralba in Spain, France, and Turkey. He continued to visit him during his imprisonment, but seldom, and did not reveal any secrets to him; and Torralba desired the spirit to leave him, because he caused agitation, and prevented him from sleeping, but this did not prevent him from returning, and relating things which wearied him.

Torralba went to Spain in 1502. Some time after, he travelled over all Italy, and settled at Rome, under the protection of Cardinal Volterra; he there acquired the reputation of a good physician, and engaged the favour of several cardinals. He studied chiromancy, and acquired some knowledge of the art. Zequiél revealed to Torralba the secret virtues of several plants in curing certain maladies; having

made use of this information to obtain money, Zequiél reproached him for it, saying, that as these remedies had cost him no labour, he ought to bestow them gratuitously. Torralba having appeared sad sometimes, because he was in want of money, the angel said to him, "Why are you sad for want of money?" Some time after, Torralba found six ducats in his chamber, and the same thing was repeated several times, which made him suppose that Zequiél had placed them there, although he would not acknowledge it when questioned. The greatest part of the information which Zequiél communicated to Torralba related to political occurrences. Thus, when Torralba returned to Spain in 1510, being at the court of Ferdinand the Catholic, Zequiél told him that this prince would soon receive disagreeable news. Torralba hastened to inform the Archbishop of Toledo, Ximenes de Cisneros, and the great captain, Gonzales Fernandez de Cordova, and the same day a courier brought letters from Africa, which announced the failure of the expedition against the Moors, and the death of Don Garcia de Toledo, son of the Duke of Alva, who commanded it.

Ximenes de Cisneros having learned that the Cardinal de Volterra had seen Zequiél, expressed a wish to see him also, and to become acquainted with the nature and character of this spirit. Torralba, to gratify the archbishop, entreated the angel to appear to him under any human form: Zequiél did not think proper to do so, but to soften the severity of his refusal, he commissioned Torralba to inform

Ximenes de Cisneros that he would be a king, which was in a manner verified, as he became absolute governor of the Spains and the Indies. Another time, when he was at Rome, the angel told him that Peter Margano would lose his life if he went out of the city. Torralba had not time to inform his friend: he went out, and was assassinated. Zequiél told him that Cardinal Sienna would come to a tragical end, which was verified in 1517, after the sentence which Leo X. pronounced against him.

When he returned to Rome, in 1513, Torralba had a great desire to see his intimate friend Thomas de Becara, who was then at Venice. Zequiél, who knew his wish, took him to that city, and brought him back to Rome, in so short a time that the person with whom he was in the habit of associating did not perceive his absence. The Cardinal de Santa Cruz, in 1516, commissioned Torralba to pass a night with his physician, Doctor Morales, in the house of a Spanish lady named Rosales, to ascertain if what this woman related of a phantom which she saw every night, in the form of a murdered man, was to be believed. Doctor Morales had remained a whole night in the house, and had not seen anything, when the lady announced the presence of the ghost; and the cardinal hoped to discover something by means of Torralba. At the hour of one, the woman uttered a cry of alarm; Morales saw nothing, but Torralba perceived the figure, which was that of a dead man; behind him appeared another phantom, with the features of a woman.

Torralba said to him, with a loud voice, "What dost thou seek here?" The phantom replied, "A treasure," and disappeared. Zequiél, being questioned, replied that under the house there was the body of a man, who had been assassinated with a poignard.

In 1519 Torralba returned to Spain, accompanied by Don Diego de Zuniga, (a relation of the Duke de Bejar, and brother of Don Antonio, Grand Prior of Castile,) who was his intimate friend. At Barcelometta, near Turin, while they were walking with the secretary, Acebedo, (who had been marshal of the camp in Italy and Savoy,) Acebedo and Zuniga thought they saw something pass by Torralba which they could not define. He informed them that it was his angel Zequiél, who had approached to speak with him. Zuniga wished much to see him, but Zequiél would not appear. At Barcelona, Torralba saw, in the house of the canon, Juan Garcia, a book on chiromancy, and in some notes a process for winning money at play. Zuniga wished to learn it, and Torralba copied the characters, and told his friend to write them himself on paper, with the blood of a bat, and keep them about his person while he played. Being at Valladolid, in 1520, Torralba told Don Diego that he would return to Rome, because he had the means of getting there in a short time, by being mounted on a stick, and guided through the air by a cloud of fire. Torralba really went to that city, where Cardinal Volterra and the Grand Prior requested him to give up his familiar spirit to them. Torralba proposed it to

Zequiel, and even entreated him to consent, but without success. In 1525, the angel told him that he would do well if he returned to Spain, because he would obtain the place of physician to the Infanta Eleonora, Queen Dowager of Portugal, who was afterwards married to Francis I., King of France. The doctor communicated this affair to the Duke de Bejar, and to Don Stephen Manual Merino, Archbishop of Bari: they solicited and obtained for him the place which he aspired to.

Lastly, on the 5th of May, in the same year, Zequiel told the doctor that Rome would be taken by the imperial troops the next day. Torralba entreated his angel to take him to Rome to witness this important event. He complied, and they left Valladolid at the hour of eleven at night. When they were at a short distance from the city, the angel gave Torralba a knotted stick, and said to him, "Shut your eyes, do not fear, take this in your hands, and no evil will befall you." When the moment to open his eyes arrived, he found himself so near the sea, that he might have touched it with his hand; the black cloud which surrounded him was succeeded by a brilliant light, which made Torralba fear that he should be consumed. Zequiel, perceiving his fear, said, "Reassure yourself, fool!" Torralba again closed his eyes, and when Zequiel told him to open them, he found himself in the tower of Nona in Rome. They then heard the clock of the castle of St. Angelo sound the fifth hour of the night, which is midnight according to the manner of computing time in Spain, so that they

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had been travelling one hour. Torralba went all over Rome with Zequiél, and afterwards witnessed the pillage of the city; he entered the house of the Bishop Copis, a German, who lived in the tower of St. Ginia; he saw the constable de Bourbon expire, the Pope shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo, and all the other events of that terrible day. In an hour and a half, they had returned to Valladolid, where Zequiél quitted him, saying, "Another time you will believe what I tell you." Torralba published all that he had seen, and as the court soon received the same news, Torralba (who was then physician to the admiral of Castile,) was spoken of as a great magician.

These rumours were the cause of his denunciation; he was arrested at Cuenca, by the Inquisition, in the beginning of the year 1528. He was denounced by his intimate friend Diego de Zuniga, who, after having been as foolishly captivated as Torralba with the miracles of the good angel, became fanatical and superstitious. Torralba at first confessed all that has been related of Zequiél, supposing that he should not be tried for the doubts he had expressed of the immortality of the soul and the divinity of our Saviour. When the judges had collected sufficient evidence, they assembled to give their votes; but as they did not accord, they applied to the council, which agreed that Torralba should be tortured, *as much as his age and rank permitted*, to discover his motives in receiving and keeping near him the spirit Zequiél; and whether he believed him to be a bad angel (a witness having

declared that he had said so); if he had made a compact with him; what passed at the first interview; and if at that time, or afterwards, he had employed conjurations to invoke him. Immediately after this, the tribunal was to pronounce the definitive sentence.

Torralba had never varied until that time in his account of his familiar spirit, whom he always affirmed to be of the order of good angels; but the torture made him say, that he now perceived him to be a bad angel, since he was the cause of his misfortune. He was asked if Zequiél had told him that he would be arrested by the Inquisition? He replied that he had told him of it several times, desiring him not to go to Cuenca, because he would meet with a misfortune there; but that he thought he might disregard this advice. He also declared that there was no compact between them, and that every circumstance had passed as he related it.

The inquisitors considered all these details to be true, and after taking a new declaration from Torralba, they suspended his trial for the space of one year, from motives of compassion(!), and with the hope of seeing whether this famous necromancer would be converted, and confess the compact and sorcery which he had constantly denied. A new witness recalled the memory of his dispute, and his doubts of the immortality of the soul and the divinity of Jesus Christ; and this caused another declaration of the doctor, in January, 1530. The council, being informed of it, commanded the Inquisition to commission some pious and learned persons to endeavour

to correct the accused. Augustin Barragan, prior of the Dominican convent at Cuenca, and Diego Manriquez, a canon of the cathedral, undertook this task, and exhorted him vehemently. The prisoner replied that he sincerely repented of his faults, but that it was impossible for him to confess what he had not done, and that he could not follow the advice given him to renounce all communication with Zequiél, because the spirit was more powerful than he was; but he promised not to desire his presence, or consent to any of his propositions.

On the 6th March, 1531, Torralba was condemned to the usual abjuration of all heresies, and to suffer the punishment of imprisonment and the *san-benito*, during the pleasure of the Inquisitor General; to hold no further communion with the spirit Zequiél, and never to attend to any of his propositions. These conditions were imposed on him for the sake of his conscience and the good of his soul.

The inquisitor soon put an end to the punishment of Torralba, in consideration, as he said, of all that he had suffered during an imprisonment of four years; but the true motive of the pardon granted to Torralba was the interest which the Admiral of Castile took in his fate. He retained him as his physician for several years after his judgment.

"The truth of the marvellous facts," continues Llorente, "related by Torralba, rests solely upon his confession, and the report of the witnesses whom he had induced to believe all that he had told them. Torralba cited none but deceased persons in eight declarations which he made, except Don Diego de

Zuniga. It was necessary to remark this, to shew the degree of confidence to be placed in some parts of his narration. It may be supposed that a great number of different accounts of this affair were spread, to which I attribute the additions and alterations in some circumstances which Louis Zapata introduced into his poem of *Carlos Famoso*, thirty years after the sentence passed on Torralba, and of those details which Cervantes, eighty years later, thought proper to put in the mouth of Don Quixote."

So ends this extraordinary narrative; one of the most singular and amusing, from the extent of the imagination employed in its composition, that is to be found in the annals of the Inquisition.

The number of provincial tribunals at the death of Manriquez, in September, 1538, was nineteen; namely, in Seville, Cordova, Toledo, Valladolid, Murcia, Calahorra, Estremadura, Saragossa, Valencia, Barcelona, Majorca, the Canaries, Cuenca, Navarre, Granada, Sicily, Sardinia, Terra Firma, and the islands of the American ocean. The Inquisition of Jaen had been united to that of Grenada. In America, the Inquisition afterwards had three tribunals—in Mexico, Lima, and Carthagena. In the Indies, they had been decreed, but not organised.

Llorente calculates that during the ministry of Manriquez, there were burnt about 2250; burnt in effigy, about 1125; condemned to penances, about 11,250; total, 14,625.

CHAPTER V.

DON JUAN PARDO DE TABERA, Archbishop of Toledo, was appointed by Charles V., in September, 1539, successor to Manriquez, the Inquisition having been under the care of the supreme council for a year.

During his ministry, the Pope established at Rome, in April, 1543, the Congregation of the Holy Office, which gave the titles of Inquisitors General to several cardinals. The Spanish inquisitors, afraid of their own power, looked jealously on this establishment, but were somewhat quieted on the Pope assuring them that it would not interfere with the privileges of the other inquisitors. In defiance of this declaration, the Inquisitors General so created frequently sent *commands* to the inquisitors of Spain, principally with respect to the prohibition or censure of theological writings, and had them confirmed by the Pope. Although this confirmation made the commands actually those of the Pope, the Spanish inquisitors in many cases resisted them, and indeed would probably have ventured to dispute his supremacy, could they have felt certain of being supported by the secular powers. But, as the matter stood, they were comparatively helpless, and were compelled to bear an affront which, had they possessed the power, they certainly would have resented.

About this time a singular deception was practised on the Spanish inquisitors, by an impostor named Juan Perez de Saavedra, who has generally received the title of "*The false nuncio of Portugal.*" We give the narrative as it was compiled from the statement which Saavedra himself prepared for the Cardinal Espinosa, in 1567.

Juan Perez de Saavedra was born at Cordova. His father was a captain in a regiment of infantry, and a perpetual member of the municipality of that city, from a privilege acquired by his family; his mother, Anne de Guzman, was descended from a family as noble as that of her husband. Saavedra, who was possessed of great talents and information, employed himself for some time in forging apostolical bulls, royal ordinances, regulations of councils and tribunals, letters of change, and the signatures of a great number of persons: he imitated them so perfectly, that he made use of them without exciting any doubts of their authenticity, and passed for a knight commander of the military order of St. Jago, and received the salary, which was three thousand ducats, for the space of a year and a half. In a short time, by means of the royal orders which he counterfeited, he acquired three hundred and sixty thousand ducats, and the secret of this great fortune would never have been revealed, (as he expresses himself in his confession,) *if he had not clothed himself in scarlet*, that is, if he had not taken it into his head to feign himself a cardinal, in order to exercise the functions of a legate, *à latere*.

He says, that being in the kingdom of Algarve,

a short time after the institution of the Jesuits had been confirmed by Paul III., a priest of that society arrived in the country, furnished with an apostolical brief, which authorised him to found a college of the order of the Kingdom of Portugal; that, having heard him preach on St. Andrew's Day, he was so pleased with him that he invited him to dinner, and kept him several days in his house. The Jesuit, having discovered his talent during this period, expressed a wish to have a *fac-simile* of his brief, containing a eulogy on the society of Jesus. He performed this task with so much success, that the brief might have been taken for the original; and they at last agreed that, to complete the good which would accrue to Portugal from the establishment of the society of Jesus, it would be proper to introduce the Inquisition on the same plan as that of Spain. Saavedra then went to Tabilla, a town in the same province, where, with the assistance of the Jesuit, he made the apostolical bull which was necessary for their purpose, and forged letters from Charles V. and Prince Philip, his son, to the King of Portugal, John III. This bull was supposed to have been sent to Saavedra, as legate, to establish the Inquisition in Portugal, if the king consented.

Saavedra afterwards passed the frontier, and went to Argamonte, in the kingdom of Seville. The provincial and Franciscan monks of Andalusia had lately arrived there from Rome. Saavedra thought he would try if the bull would pass as authentic: he told the provincial that some one going to Portugal had dropped a parchment on the road, which he

showed him, and begged to know if it was of importance, as, in that case, he would lose no time in restoring it to the person who had dropped it. The provincial took the parchment for an original writing and a true bull; he made the contents known to Saavedra, and expatiated on the advantages which Portugal would derive from it.

Saavedra went to Seville, and took into his service two confidants, one of whom was to be his secretary, the other his major-domo; he bought litters and silver plate, and adopted the dress of a Roman cardinal; he sent his confidants to Cordova and Grenada to hire servants, and commanded them to go with his suite to Badajoz, where they gave out that they were the familiars of a cardinal from Rome, who would pass through the city in his way to Portugal to establish the Inquisition, by the order of the Pope. They also announced that he would soon arrive, as he travelled post.

At the appointed time Saavedra appeared at Badajoz, where his servants publicly kissed his hand as the Pope's legate. He left Badajoz for Seville, where he was received into the archiepiscopal palace of Cardinal Loaisa, who resided at Madrid in the quality of Apostolical Commissary General of the holy crusade. He received the greatest marks of respect and devotion from Don Juan Fernandez de Termino, the Vicar General. He remained eighteen days in this city, and during that time obtained, by false obligations, the sum of eleven hundred and thirty ducats from the heirs of the Marquis de Tarifa. He afterwards took the road to Llerena,

(where the Inquisition of Estremadura had been established,) after going to different towns in the province; he was lodged in part of the Inquisition, which was then occupied by the Inquisitors Don Pedro Alvarez Beccara and Don Louis de Cardenas, to whom he said that he meant to visit the Inquisition of Llerena, in his quality of legate; and after having fulfilled that part of his mission, he should proceed to Portugal, where he should establish the holy office, on the plan of that of Spain.

Saavedra then returned to Badajoz, from whence he sent his secretary to Lisbon, with his bulls and papers, that the court, being informed of his arrival, might prepare to receive him. The mission of this agent caused great doubts and agitation at the court, where such a novelty was little expected; nevertheless, the king sent a nobleman to the frontier to receive the cardinal legate, who made his entry into Lisbon, where he passed three months, and was treated with every mark of respect: he then undertook a long journey into different parts of the kingdom, going over the dioceses, and taking a detailed account of them. It would have been difficult to discover the aim of his apostolical solicitude, if some unforeseen circumstances had not put an end to his imposture.

The Inquisition of Spain discovered this intrigue through the address of Cardinal Tabera, who shared the cares of government with the Prince of Asturias, at the time when Charles V. was absent in France. In consequence of the measures concerted between the Cardinal and the Marquis de Villaneuva de

Barcarrota, the governor of Badajoz, Saavedra was arrested at Nieva de Guadiana, in the Portuguese territory, on the 23rd January, 1541, where he was at table with the curate of the village, who had entreated that he would do him the honour of visiting his parish, as he had the others in the diocese. This request was only a snare, in order to arrest the impostor with more safety.

Saavedra says, that when he was arrested, three treasures, which he had with him, were seized; one of twenty thousand ducats, the produce of the fines of the condemned, destined for the holy office; the second, of a hundred and fifty thousand ducats, which, he said, he intended to apply to the use of the church, and other good works; the third, of ninety thousand ducats, which belonged to himself. Saavedra was taken to Madrid, by order of the Procurator General of the kingdom, and there imprisoned. The alcaldes of the court went to him, and received his declaration, which was necessary to the trial. The tribunal of the Inquisition had not then been established at Madrid, which was subject to that of Toledo. The inquisitors pretended that this affair ought to come before them, because it was to be presumed that the prisoner had renounced the catholic religion, from the fictions which he had invented to procure money; as if catholics did not commit greater crimes every day!

As the Inquisitor General was the lieutenant of the prince, the holy office was sure to prevail. Tabera, wishing to satisfy both parties, decreed that

the *alcaldes* should remain in possession of the person of Saavedra, and proceed against him for his exactions, forgeries, and other political crimes; and that the holy office should take cognizance of the crimes against the faith which he had been guilty of, under the title of a Cardinal. The inquisitor reflected that Saavedra was a man of great talent, and that he should therefore be treated with moderation; besides that, he had always conducted himself like a real judge, except that he only condemned the accused to pay fines.

Saavedra declared that these reasons made the Inquisitor General wish to be personally acquainted with him; that he caused him to be brought before him, heard him with interest, and offered to protect him, promising to give him for a judge any one that he named; that he then expressed a wish to be judged by Doctor Arias, inquisitor at Llerena. This was granted, and caused great murmurs against the cardinal and the court at Madrid, where it was whispered that Tabera had appropriated the ninety thousand ducats which had been taken from Saavedra; that Doctor Arias condemned him to serve ten years in the king's galleys; that after a detention of two years, the *alcaldes* of Madrid pronounced his definitive sentence, one of the principal parts of which was, that after having fulfilled the inquisitorial sentence, he could not be set at liberty, or quit the galleys, without the permission of his majesty, on pain of death; that he was sent to the galleys in 1544; that, in 1554, although the period of his punishment had expired, he could not obtain his

liberty; then, persuaded that his affair depended more on the Inquisition than the *alcaldes* of the court, he endeavoured to interest the Pope in his fate, representing that he had done several things extremely useful to religion and the state, in the exercise of his false legation; that Paul IV. sent him a brief, which was addressed to the Inquisitor General, Don Ferdinand Valdes, whom his holiness charged to obtain Saavedra's liberty; that he received this brief when the king's galleys were in the port of St. Mary; that he immediately forwarded it to the bishop coadjutor of Seville, and he sent it to the Inquisitor General, who was his archbishop. Valdes having communicated the affair to Philip II., that prince gave orders that Saavedra should be set at liberty, that he might immediately repair to court. Saavedra arrived there, in 1562, after having passed nineteen years in the galleys. He was presented to the king, who desired to hear his history from his own lips, and to have it in writing; while Saavedra related it to the king, Antonio Perez wrote down the singular events of his life; lastly, Saavedra himself wrote it, in 1567, for the Inquisitor General, Don Diego Espinosa.

The history of Saavedra, says Llorente, has furnished the subject for a Spanish comedy, entitled the "*False Nuncio of Portugal*," in which not only all the unities of time, place, and action are wanting, but the rule which admits only probable events is infringed; but this ought not to surprise in poets, since the hero himself has taken the same liberty, in the narrative which he composed for the amuse-

ment of Cardinal Espinosa. It is certain that he was imprisoned on the 25th of January, 1541, as he states in his history. But this point, so well established, proves that he imposed in other circumstances; for example, if what he relates of the Jesuit, in Algarve, is true, it could not have happened until the year 1540, because Paul III. only expedited his bull of approval for the *Society of Jesus* on the 27th September, 1540. Now, the sermon preached by the Jesuit, on St. Andrew's day, corresponds with the 30th November, in the same year, that is, on the fifty second day before his imprisonment; this interval would not be sufficient for his journeys to Ayamonte, Llerena, Seville, and Badajoz, and in Portugal. Thus, Saavedra did not speak truth, either in stating the period of his appearing to the world as a Cardinal, and the motives which induced him to enter into the intrigue with the Jesuit, or when he said that he sustained his part for three months at Lisbon, and during three months which he employed in visiting different towns in the kingdom.

Besides, the number and names of the disciples of St. Ignatius were known at that period; and it is certain, that before the bull of approbation was obtained, the founder of the order had appointed St. Francis Xavier, and Simon Rodriguez, a Portuguese, to preach in Portugal; and that these monks left Rome on the 15th March, 1540, with the Portuguese ambassador; that on their arrival at Lisbon, John III. wished to receive them into his palace; that they refused that honour, and lodged in the

hospital; that St. Francis Xavier embarked for the East Indies, with the new governor, on the 8th April, 1541, and that Rodriguez remained in Portugal to preach, as he had already done, to the great satisfaction of the inhabitants, who had a high opinion of his virtues. These circumstances render it improbable that the Jesuit would ask for a forged brief, and enter into an intrigue with a layman.

Saavedra says that the court of Lisbon was disturbed at the news of the arrival of a nuncio in Portugal. This would not be extraordinary, as neither the Pope nor any other person had written to the court on the subject, and as the Pope had appointed Don Henry, Archbishop of Braga, the king's brother, Inquisitor General in the preceding year. But if the arrival of the legate caused so much surprise, it was natural that the king should write to the Pope, whose answer would have arrived two months afterwards, and Saavedra would have been detected before the end of the third month, and thus there would have been no necessity for the King of Spain to arrest him.

It is not more certain that Saavedra established the Inquisition in Portugal. The expulsion of the Jews took place in 1492; many of them retired to Portugal: among them were some that had been baptised, and John II. consented to receive them into his states, if they would behave like faithful Christians. King Manuel ordered them to quit the kingdom, and to leave all their children under the age of fourteen, who were to be made Christians; they offered to receive baptism, if the king would

promise not to establish the Inquisition for twenty years; the king granted their request, and also that the names of witnesses should be communicated to them if they were accused of heresy after that period, besides the power of bequeathing their effects if they were condemned. In 1507, Manuel confirmed these privileges, prolonging the first twenty years, and rendering the others perpetual; in 1520, John renewed the first concession for another twenty years.

Clement VII. being informed that the baptised Jews in Portugal did not shew much attachment to the Christian religion, and that the Protestant and Lutheran heresies made great progress in the kingdom, appointed Don Diego de Silva inquisitor for that country. He attempted to exercise his functions, but the new Christians claimed their rights, which were to last for several years; a trial was the result of this opposition. Clement VII. died, and his successor, Paul III., granted to the new Christians a privilege which they could not obtain in Portugal, viz., that they might confide the defence of their rights before the prince to persons chosen by themselves, the regulations conferring them having been interpreted to their prejudice. In the same year, the Pope granted them a pardon for all that had passed.

The king afterwards represented that the converted Jews abused their privileges, some returning to Judaism, and others adopting the errors of the Protestants. This circumstance induced the pontiff to publish another bull, on the 25th March,

1536, which is considered as the foundation of the Inquisition in Portugal. The Pope appointed as inquisitors, the Bishops of Coimbra, Lamego, and Ceuta; and decreed at the same time, that another bishop or priest of the king's nomination should be associated with them. The Pope granted to each inquisitor the power of proceeding against heretics and their adherents, in concert with the diocesan in ordinary, or alone, if he refused to assist; they were likewise obliged, for the first three years, in the proceedings against heretics, to conform to the manner of proceeding in cases of theft or homicide, and after that period, to the rules of common law; the practice of confiscation was abolished, and the heirs of the condemned could inherit, as if he had died intestate. Lastly, the Pope commanded that a sufficient number of tribunals should be instituted for the execution of these measures. The king appointed Don Diego de Silva, Bishop of Ceuta, first Inquisitor General.

Such was the origin of the Inquisition in Portugal, four years before Saavedra arrived in that country. In 1539, the Pope appointed Don Henry, Archbishop of Braga, to succeed the first Inquisitor General. The third grand inquisitor was Don George de Almeida, Archbishop of Lisbon.

All that I have now stated, concludes Llorente, is taken from authentic documents. I conclude from them that Juan Perez de Saavedra forged his brief of cardinal *à latere*, presented it in December, 1540, and succeeded in concealing his forgery; that what he related of the Jesuit was not true, or

happened differently; that seeing the Inquisition established in a manner contrary to his opinions, he insinuated that it would be better to take that of Spain as a model, which was well known to the inquisitors of Llerena, and that he would visit the different parts of the kingdom to facilitate this design; that he travelled through part of the kingdom in the month of December, and continued his journeys in January in the following year, when he was arrested, before the court of Lisbon received information of the imposture. I have no doubt that Saavedra amassed great sums, but I am far from thinking that they were as considerable as he affirmed them to be.

During this period, two notable instances of the arrogance and insolence of the officials of the Inquisition occurred. In Catalonia, the carrying of arms by any but the royal troops being prohibited, the Captain General of the province, Don Pedro Cardona, in 1543, commenced proceedings against the gaoler of the Inquisition of Barcelona, (he being at the same time grand serjeant of the holy office,) for carrying arms. The inquisitors, in return, commenced proceedings against the Captain General, as a rebel against the holy office; and although Charles V. had, in 1535, deprived it of the royal jurisdiction, they complained to him of the conduct of Cardona, and represented the danger to the tribunal which would arise if it were allowed to go unpunished. Charles foolishly granted the inquisitors all they required, even in opposition to his own decree of 1535, and wrote to Cardona, "that

the interests of the faith required that he should submit to receive the absolution *ad cautelam*." Cardona's allegiance to Charles induced him to submit, much, however, to his own chagrin; and he demanded absolution. That they might triumph the more over their prostrate foe, the inquisitors held an *auto da fé* in the cathedral of Barcelona, at which Cardona was present, "standing without a sword, with a taper in his hand, during the celebration of mass, and the ceremony of his absolution." Charles might have foreseen the result of his indulgence of such a domineering and haughty set of men. His own memory was attacked, after his death, by the tribunal—by the very serpent which he had nourished and fed; but, fortunately, he had avoided committing himself to the new doctrines.

The other instance which we have mentioned occurred in Sicily. Two familiars of the Inquisition of the island were brought before the civil tribunal by order of the Marquis of Terranova, (who had been viceroy and governor-general, and who was related to the emperor,) for some crimes they had committed. Contempt for the power of the Inquisition being the natural result of such a prosecution, the inquisitors made a similar application to the emperor as had previously been made by their fellows of Barcelona; and Philip of Austria, (eldest son of Charles, who governed during the absence of his father,) wrote to the marquis a letter, of which the following is a copy:—

"I, the Prince. Honorable Marquis, Admiral and Constable, our dear Counsellor: you know what happened when you commanded two familiars of the holy office to be whipped,

while you were governor of this kingdom, and not well informed of the affair. So great a contempt for that holy tribunal has been the result, that it has been impossible for it to command anything with the success which it formerly obtained. On the contrary, several persons of this kingdom have presumed to insult and use violence towards the officers of the Inquisition, and to prevent and disturb them in the exercise of their office, according to the complaints and informations which we have received on this affair. The Reverend Cardinal of Toledo, Inquisitor General, and the members of the Council of the General Inquisition, have deliberated with his majesty, and it has been found proper and convenient that you should do penance for the fault you have committed; saving that it should be *gentle* and *moderate*, in consideration of the services you have rendered his majesty. In consequence, the Inquisitor General and the Council, guided by their esteem for your person, have commanded the Inquisitor Gongora to speak to you, and represent your fault, that you may accomplish the penance imposed, which (according to the nature of the fact, and the evil which has been the result,) ought to have been much more severe, as you will learn from what the inquisitors have been commanded to say to you. As to the rest, this has only been decreed for the glory of God, the honour of the holy office, and the good of your conscience. We require and charge you, for the sake of the good example which you owe to others, to accept and accomplish this penance, with the submission which is due to the Church, and without waiting to be compelled by means of excommunication and ecclesiastical censures; the submission we ask of you will not affect your honour, but will be profitable to you, in freeing you from all inquietude and vexation: it is approved by his majesty, will give us pleasure, and we undertake to treat you, in all that concerns you, with the favour that we have used towards you, and which we will shew whenever there is an opportunity. Given at Valladolid, 15th December, 1543. I, the Prince."

This letter was signed by many members of the council. The "*gentle and moderate*" punishment which the tender mercies of the Inquisitors inflicted *was similar to that* which Cardona underwent; with

this addition, however, that the Marquis was not allowed to kneel, (except during the elevation of the host,) in order that his exposure might be the greater; and he was compelled to pay one hundred ducats to the familiars whom he had very properly punished!

Cardinal Tabera was Inquisitor General for seven years, from 1539 to 1545. There is no authentic account of the number of victims of the Inquisition during that period, but they are believed to have amounted to about 6,720; namely, burnt 840; burnt in effigy 420; and subjected to various penances 5,460.

On the death of Tabera, Cardinal Don Garcia de Loaisa, (archbishop of Seville, and late confessor to Charles V.,) was appointed Inquisitor General of the Inquisition. He entered on his office in 1545, and the Pope's bulls, confirming his appointment, were issued on the 18th February, 1546; but he died on the 22nd April, in that year, having administered the affairs of the tribunal for only a few months.

It was during Loaisa's ministry that Charles, seeing the progress of Lutheranism in Germany, and fearing that it might spread into Italy and Sicily, renewed the abortive attempts which Ferdinand, his grandfather, had made, in 1504 and 1510, to establish the Inquisition in Naples. In 1546, therefore, he communicated his intention to Don Pedro de Toledo, his viceroy there, and desired him to select from the inhabitants inquisitors and other officers, and to send their names and the necessary docu-

ments to him, that the Inquisitor General might proceed to invest them with the requisite authority. Toledo, seeing the mischief which the attempt would cause in Naples, attempted to dissuade Charles from his design; but, failing, he sent the required information, and received directions to proceed to the establishment of the holy office by the most cautious methods. It must here be stated, that the kingdom of Naples, though *nominally* free from the scourge of the Inquisition, was not altogether so *in reality*. The holy office at Rome, being in full operation, periodically sent deputies, with inquisitorial powers, through various parts of Italy, and, among other places, Naples was frequently visited, but only on condition that the laws, as regarded the calling of witnesses, should be respected. Those brought before the inquisitors were, in most cases, sent to the holy office at Rome, where they performed the penances imposed on them, and afterwards returned to their homes. Now the viceroy fell upon the clever expedient of establishing the holy office by means of the Pope, laying all the odium of such a proceeding on the latter. In pursuance of this plan, he wrote to a relative, who was connected with the Inquisition at Rome, requesting him to send a deputy, with inquisitorial powers, to Naples. On the Pope's consent to the appointment being required, he gladly granted it, feeling pleased at the contemplation of the secular powers bearing the blame, while *he* should reap the benefit. On the arrival of the inquisitor and his staff at Naples, the viceroy's consent to their exercising their cus-

tomary power was as usual demanded, and, after some demur, granted; Toledo, however, stipulating that the royal consent should not be made public, at least for some little time. When he found the ground more firm, he allowed the establishment of the tribunal to be publicly announced, on which the whole population flew to arms, and forced the Spanish troops into their fortresses. The viceroy tried to hoodwink them, but without effect, and after a prolonged struggle, accompanied by bloodshed, deputies were sent to the emperor, who, on the advice of his viceroy, abandoned the attempt. Some accounts state that Pope Paul III. had felt, and had complained, that his predecessors had allowed much mischief to be done, by permitting the Spanish Inquisition to be at all independent of the holy see; and feeling that the success of the establishment of a tribunal at Naples would tend to the augmentation of the secular power, and the corresponding diminution of that of the popes, he aided and protected the Neapolitans in their revolt, not giving them, however, his *real* reason, but craftily insinuating that the *Spanish* Inquisition was conducted in a most cruel manner, that many complaints had been made of it, and that it was not conducted like that of *Rome*, which had been established three years, and of which no complaints had been made. It must seem rather singular that the Neapolitans, who had repeatedly refused to allow the establishment of an inquisitorial tribunal under their own eyes, and to some extent under their own control, should not have made a deter-

mined stand against the practice of compelling members of their body to go to Rome, and render themselves subject to the holy office there. They must surely have been treated with more than usual lenity, else their attention would certainly have been directed to the fact. Be this as it may, they now took precautions against the introduction of the tribunal in any shape, and selected a number of noblemen, who formed themselves into a court, whose office it should be to guard against the introduction of the hated holy office at any future period. This has been truly called an Inquisition against the Inquisition, and the court did the state good service, as our readers will shortly have occasion to see. To dispose of the Neapolitan Inquisition, at least in the meantime, it may here be stated that its erection was again attempted, in 1563, by Philip II., who would not take warning by the failures of Charles and Ferdinand before him. The result was similar; Naples rose, showed a determined front, and Philip was defeated.

About the year 1503, as we have already seen, the Inquisition was established in Sicily. In 1520, Charles V. requested the Pope not to admit any appeals from the decisions of the Sicilian Inquisition, as they could be made to the Spanish Inquisitor General; and this proceeding caused the inquisitors in Sicily to increase the severity of their tribunal, to abuse the powers with which they were invested, and to bear themselves very haughtily, until, in 1535, the Sicilians rebelled, and Charles was com-

pelled to deprive the tribunal of its privileges for five years. In 1538 the inquisitors managed to recover their power; but the viceroy, finding that the people were as much opposed as ever to the tribunal, informed Charles, who found it necessary to extend the suspension of its privileges for five years longer. In 1546, all fear of rebellion from the cruelties practised by it having ceased, the emperor restored its powers, and granted fresh concessions: a victory which induced the inquisitors to celebrate a solemn *auto da fé*, at which four persons were burnt in effigy, and similar celebrations were held in 1549 and 1551. The insolence and cruelties to which the Sicilians were again subjected exasperated them to such a degree as nearly to provoke a revolt, which was only prevented by the exertions of the viceroy and the appointment of other inquisitors, who were moderate while the storm lasted, holding the *autos da fé* in the hall of the holy office instead of in public, until the year 1569, when another public one was decreed and held. While relating the history of the Sicilian Inquisition, we may refer to some disputes which arose between it and the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta.

The island of Malta, while it belonged to the Spanish monarchy, was subject to the Sicilian Inquisition; but on Charles V., in 1530, granting it to the Knights of St. John, the Grand Master considered that the ecclesiastical power of which he was possessed was sufficient to warrant his refusal to

subject his order to the power of the Sicilian inquisitors. In 1574 and 1575 a dispute occurred, of which we subjoin an account.

A man in the island was arrested as a heretic, and informations were taken against him by the Inquisition of Sicily. The Grand Master, considering this an insult to his authority, wrote to demand the writings. The inquisitors consulted the council, which directed them not only to refuse them, but to demand the prisoner. The Grand Master, bent on defending his privileges, had the man tried in the island and acquitted. The inquisitors, very much displeased, revenged themselves in the following year.—Don Pedro de la Roca, one of the Knights of Malta, killed the alguazil of the Inquisition, in Messina. Being arrested, he was imprisoned in the holy office. He was claimed by the Grand Master, who alone had the right to try him. The council, instead of yielding to this demand, ordered that he should be tried and punished as a homicide. The Inquisitor General informed Philip II. of this resolution, and the latter wrote to the Grand Master to terminate the dispute.

The secular powers of Sicily and the Inquisition appear to have had frequent quarrels, and the Duke of Alva, who was viceroy in 1592, finding that the government was much weakened by a great number of all classes being enrolled as familiars of the holy office, thus enjoying privileges incompatible with the existence of full power in the viceroy, informed Charles II. of the fact, and represented that the authority of his majesty's lieutenant would soon cease

if such a state of things were permitted to continue. Charles on this decreed that the privileges of which his viceroy complained should not be enjoyed by any one employed by the king, even if he were a familiar of the tribunal. This blow had the effect intended; the respect of the Sicilians for the holy office was diminished, and its influence declined. It appears, however, in 1606, to have been sufficiently powerful, for it called before it the Duke de Frias, Constable of Castile, who was subjected to its censures.

By the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, Sicily was ceded to Victor, Duke of Savoy, and the dependence of the inquisitors on the Spanish tribunal consequently ceased. In 1739, the Pope, by bull, created for it an inquisitor general, independent of Spain, and the tribunal existed till 1782, when Ferdinand IV. finally suppressed it.

In 1546, during a part of which Loaisa was Inquisitor General, the number of Spanish tribunals was 15, and the number of the victims was about 120 burnt, 60 burnt in effigy, and 600 subject to penances.

On the death of Loaisa, Don Ferdinand Valdes was nominated Inquisitor General, the Pope approving his appointment in January, 1547. His cruelty is amply proved, by the activity of the Spanish Inquisition during his administration, by the number of the victims, and by the severe punishments to which they were subjected. In 1552, five years after he took office, Valdes celebrated an *auto da fé* at Seville, in which ceremony Juan Gil, better known

as Doctor Egidius, appeared. Egidius studied theology at Alcala de Henares, where he obtained the title of doctor, and shortly afterwards became so celebrated for his talents as a theologian, as to be compared to Peter Lombard, Thomas d'Aquinas, and John Scott. The office of preacher in the Cathedral of Seville was offered to him, and accepted, but as he had no powers of preaching, his appointment was soon regretted; and he was told by Rodrigo de Valero, in whose school he had studied, that "the books from which he derived his knowledge were worth nothing, and that his preaching would never be admired if he did not read the Bible." He *did* read it, and shortly acquired a style of preaching which made him very popular, but at the same time raised up against him many enemies. The number of these was increased by his elevation to the bishopric of Tortosa, in 1550, and he was denounced to the Seville Inquisition as a Lutheran, some of the propositions which he had advanced in his sermons, (but which were now most unfairly separated from the context, in order that they might be made to bear a different meaning,) being adduced against him. He was conveyed to the prisons of the tribunal in that year; and before his trial commenced, the Emperor and the Chapter of Seville wrote to the inquisitors in his favour, and even the dean of the inquisitors, Correa, interfered to protect him from his colleague, Peter Diaz, who bore Egidius the greatest hatred. The applications in his favour, the purity of his life, and the extent of his learning induced the inquisitors to agree to

a proposal which was made, that a discussion should take place between Egidius and some learned theologians. A Dominican friar, Dominic Soto, was selected as his adversary, and he arrived at Seville. He seems to have held the same opinions as Egidius; but they agreed that their confessions of faith should be written down, and that they should be compared, previous to the public discussion. This was done, and it is asserted that the contents of the two papers agreed as nearly as possible. The inquisitors summoned a public assembly, and arranged that Soto should open the proceedings by the delivery of a sermon; after which he should read his own confession of faith, and then Egidius should read his. Two pulpits were erected for the theologians, but, by accident or design, they were so distant from each other that Egidius, who was probably somewhat deaf, could not hear what his adversary said. Soto read a confession of faith entirely different from that agreed upon; while his opponent, not hearing him, but presuming that he was reading the paper he had approved, made signs indicative of his assent to the propositions. Egidius then commenced the reading of his own confession of faith; but those who understood the subject soon saw that there was not the slightest resemblance between them, and that Egidius held several opinions directly opposed to those advanced by Soto. As these were looked upon by the holy office as heretical, the favourable impression produced by Egidius, when he intimated his assent to Soto's propositions, was destroyed. The inquisitors added these papers to those of the trial, and with

the advice of Soto, passed judgment on Egidius, declaring him to be violently suspected of the Lutheran heresy, condemning him to three years imprisonment, and prohibiting him from preaching, writing, or explaining theology for ten years. In addition to these punishments, he was ordered never to leave the kingdom, on pain of being punished as a formal heretic. Egidius was very much astonished at his situation, after having perfectly agreed on all the points in question; but he did not long survive his imprisonment, which ended in 1555. On its expiry, he visited Valladolid, where he had a conference with several Lutherans, and then returned to Seville, where he died in 1556. The tribunal, having been informed of his communication with Lutherans, instituted another trial, found him guilty of heresy, had his body disinterred and burnt, in 1560, declaring his memory infamous, and confiscating his property.

In 1552, a woman named Mary de Bourgogne was denounced by a slave, who asserted that she had told him that he was right in being a Jew, "*for the Christians had neither faith nor law.*" Mary was, at the time of her apprehension, eighty-five years of age, yet she was still imprisoned in 1557, the inquisitors waiting till sufficient evidence could be produced against her. Having waited in vain, they determined to torture her *gently*, although it was contrary to the laws of the tribunal to do so, it having been decreed that in such cases the individual should only be intimidated by the preparations. She accordingly had the moderate torture

applied, and we need not wonder that it caused her death a day or two afterwards, as she was then upwards of *ninety years old*. To justify to some extent their disgraceful cruelty, the inquisitors afterwards declared her memory, her children, and other descendants in the male line infamous; and her bones and effigy were burnt, and her property confiscated.

Charles V. died in 1558, after having abdicated in favour of his son Philip II. That prince involved himself in disputes with Pope Paul IV., who had shown himself to be a bitter enemy of both Charles and Philip, and had endeavoured to dethrone each of them by proving them heretics. Philip's viceroy of Naples invaded the Roman States, and compelled the pontiff to sue for peace, which Philip, very much to his own degradation, granted, without imposing any condition, or punishing him for his haughty and unbecoming conduct. The appreciation by the latter of Philip's conduct may be seen from the fact of his addressing to the inquisitors, only five months afterwards, a brief, in which they were commanded to prosecute all heretics and schismatics, to punish them according to the constitutions, and, above all, to deprive such persons of their dignities and offices, whether they were bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, cardinals, or legates, barons, counts, marquises, dukes, *princes, kings, or emperors*. This was a blow evidently directed at Charles and Philip; but it took little effect, beyond causing some inquiries by the inquisitors as to the religion of Charles at the time of his death.

Philip II., on ascending the throne, showed his intolerant spirit, by doing all in his power to extend the influence of the Inquisition, and increase the number of its tribunals. In 1562 he ordered the Sardinian inquisition to conform in all respects to the rules of the Spanish tribunals, which were far more severe than those laid down by Ferdinand V., the latter being in force in Sardinia. In Flanders, the Inquisition, though severe, was not so sanguinary as that of Spain; and it was tolerated by the Flemish principally because many had fled to Flanders and Holland to avoid the persecution of the Spanish tribunals, and also because the Flemish considered its erection temporary. Philip, however, unsuccessfully endeavoured permanently to establish eighteen tribunals; but the Flemish were vehemently opposed to anything of such a nature, and his obstinacy in attempting to carry his point caused, with other grievances, the revolt of the Netherlands.

He was quite as unsuccessful in his endeavours to introduce it into Milan in 1563. He intimated his intention to the Pope, who, although secretly opposed to the attempt, in consequence of the effect its success would have in reducing his own power, yet gave his acquiescence, as he saw no feasible means of preventing it. But on the Pope receiving a deputation of the Milanese, who came to protest against the threatened infliction, he replied to their address, that he well knew the extreme severity of the Spanish tribunals, and would never consent to the introduction into Milan of any other than the Romish tribunal, which was *extremely mild*! He therefore supported

the Milanese in their opposition, and as they were encouraged by the Italian prelates assembled at the council of Trent, and by the bishops of Lombardy, who, warned by the fate of the Spanish ecclesiastics, dreaded the loss of their own power, Philip was compelled to abandon his design.

He was, however, more successful in his endeavours to perfect the tribunals in America, which, previously to his ascending the throne, had been established by Charles V., and had been much complained of by the viceroys as regarded their cruelty to the baptised Indians. This cruelty was so excessive as to induce them to fly to the interior; and Charles, in 1538, decreed that they should be under the care of the bishops, and should not be interfered with by the Inquisition.

These orders, not being attended to, were renewed in 1549, by Charles, and in 1553, and 1565, by Philip. In 1570, and 1571, Philip decreed that there should be three tribunals in the new world, namely, in Lima, Mexico, and Carthagena, and he defined the territory over which each was to have jurisdiction. Those in Lima and Mexico appear to have been now brought into full operation; but that at Carthagena does not seem to have been fully established till 1610, when Philip III. reigned. The first *auto da fé* in Mexico was held in 1574, and for pomp and splendour is said to have nearly, if not altogether, equalled that of 1559, celebrated at Valladolid, which was attended by Philip II., and his family.

As the jurisdiction of the inquisitor general of

Spain, was confined to the dominions of the Spanish king, Philip thought it necessary to apply to the Pope in 1571, for power to establish an "*Inquisition of the Galleys*," which was intended to have jurisdiction over the seas, that heretics on shipboard might not escape persecution. It was accordingly established, but so impeded navigation, that in a short time it was discontinued. In 1574, the tribunal was organised in Galicia, not so much for the purpose of persecuting heretics, as of preventing the introduction at the seaports of pernicious books, or of men who might preach heretical doctrines.

On the death of the king of Portugal, in 1580, Philip II. succeeded to the throne of that kingdom, and being desirous of placing its inquisition under the dominion of that of Spain, he took advantage of the Grand Inquisitor's office being vacant to effect the suppression of it, and represented to the Pope the benefit which would accrue from the junction of the two tribunals, and from the unity of the proceedings which would thus be secured. But as he had obtained the crown of Portugal only on the condition that it should be independent of that of Spain, he was compelled to abandon the idea of amalgamating them.

The Inquisition of Valladolid, on the 21st May, 1559, celebrated an *auto da fé* against the Lutherans, in the presence of Don Carlos, the Princess Juana, and a large number of the grandees of Spain. As we shall, in another part of the volume, describe the ceremonies performed at an *auto da fé*, we will not enter into the particulars as to this one, which,

although celebrated for the rank and moral worth of those punished in it, cannot be compared, as regards extent and magnificence, with others which we shall have hereafter to allude to. At this *auto*, fourteen persons were *relaxed*, that is, *burnt*; the bones and effigy of one woman were also burnt; and sixteen persons were admitted to reconciliation, with penances. The woman whose bones and effigy were burnt was Donna Eleonora de Vibero (wife of an officer of the treasury), who was proprietress of a Benedictine convent at Valladolid. When she died, she was interred without any accusation having been preferred against her memory; but afterwards she was accused of Lutheranism, by the fiscal of the Inquisition, who succeeded in establishing his charge on the evidence given by accused persons while under the torture. "Her memory and posterity," says Llorente, "were condemned to infamy, her property confiscated, and her house rased to the ground, and prohibited from being rebuilt; a monument, with an inscription relating to this event, was placed on the spot. I have seen the column and the inscription; I have heard that it was destroyed in 1809." The two sons and the daughter of this lady were burnt in the same *auto da fê*, all being convicted of the crime of Lutheranism. The elder of the two brothers, Doctor Augustin Cazalla, confessed that he was a Lutheran, but denied that he had taught the doctrine. The younger brother, Francis, and his sister Beatrice, at first denied the charges, but afterwards confessed them under the torture. The elder brother and the sister being

both considered penitents, were mercifully strangled before being burnt; but the younger, who ridiculed his brother's exhortations at the stake, was burnt alive. Another of those sacrificed on this occasion was the licentiate Antonio Herrezuelo, a lawyer of the city of Toro, who was condemned as a Lutheran. He died unrepenting, and, while tied to the stake, scoffed at the exhortations of Doctor Cazalla. His courage and constancy so exasperated one of the archers, that he plunged his lance into the body of the condemned heretic, who died without a groan. The circumstances under which the other condemnations took place, offer no feature of interest.

In October, of the same year (1559), a second *auto da fé* was celebrated at Valladolid, in the presence of Philip II., and it was far more splendid than the preceding one. Philip was accompanied by his son, his sister, the Prince of Parma, three ambassadors from France, the Archbishop of Seville, the Bishops of Palencia and Zamora, and a large number of the grandees of Spain. Thirteen live persons, one corpse, and one effigy were consigned to the flames, and sixteen persons were admitted to reconciliation, with penances. The *sermon on the faith* was preached by the Bishop of Cuenca, and the Archbishop of Seville received from Philip the usual oath administered on these occasions, to maintain and defend the Inquisition.

Of those condemned and burnt on this occasion, we shall extract some account from Llorente. One was Don Carlos de Soso, a noble of Verona, son to the Bishop of Placenza, in Italy. He was forty-

three years of age, passed for a learned man, who had rendered great services to the emperor, and had held the office of Corregidor of Toro. After his marriage he settled at Villamediana, near Logrono. He there openly preached heresy, and was the principal author of the progress of Lutheranism at Valladolid, Placencia, Zamora, and the boroughs depending on those cities. He was arrested at Logrono, and taken to the secret prisons of Valladolid. He answered the requisition of the fiscal, on the 28th June, 1558. His sentence was communicated to him on the 7th of October, 1559, and he was told to prepare to suffer death on the following day. De Soso asked for ink and paper, and wrote his confession, which was entirely Lutheran; he said that his doctrine, and not that taught by the Roman Church, which had been corrupted for several centuries, was the true faith of the gospel; that he would die in that belief, and that he offered himself to God, in memory of the passion of Jesus Christ. It would be difficult to express the vigour and energy of his writing, which filled two sheets of paper. De Soso was exhorted, during the night, and on the morning of the 8th, but without success; he was gagged, that he might not have the power of preaching his doctrine. When he was fastened to the stake, the gag was taken from his mouth, and he was again exhorted to confess himself; he replied, with a loud voice and great firmness, "If I had sufficient time, I would convince you that you are lost, by not following my example. Hasten to light the wood which is to consume me." The

executioners complied, and De Soso died impenitent.

Juan Sanchez, a servant of Pedro de Cazalla (who was burnt at the same time,) and Donna Catherine Hortoga, was thirty-three years of age. The fear of being arrested by the Inquisition induced him to go to Valladolid, in order to escape to the Low Countries, under the forged name of Juan de Vibar. The inquisitors were informed of his intention by his letters written at Castrourdiales, addressed to Donna Catherine Hortoga while she was in prison. The inquisitors gave information to the king, who commissioned Don Francis de Castilla, alcalde of the court, to arrest him. Sanchez was taken at Turlingen, and transferred to Valladolid, where he was condemned to relaxation, as a dogmatising and impenitent Lutheran. He was gagged until he was fastened to the stake. As he did not ask for a confessor, the pile was lighted, and when the cords which held him were burnt, he darted to the top of the scaffold, from whence he could see that several of the condemned confessed, that they might avoid the flames. The priests again exhorted him to confess, but seeing that De Soso remained firm in his resolution, he returned and told them to add more wood, for that he would die like Don Carlos de Soso. The archers and executioners obeyed his injunctions, and he perished in the flames.

Jane Sanchez, of the class of women called *Beatas*, was condemned as a Lutheran; when she was informed of her sentence, she cut her throat with a pair of scissors, and died impenitent some

days after, in the prison. Her corpse was taken to the *auto da fé* on a bier, and burnt with her effigy.

Antonio Sanchez, an inhabitant of Salamanca, was punished as a false witness; it was proved that he had deposed falsely, for the purpose of causing a Jew to be burnt: he was condemned to receive two hundred stripes, was deprived of half his property, and sent to the galleys for five years. "The compassion of the inquisitors for this sort of criminals is an incontestable fact, although they did not hesitate to condemn heretics to death if they had only concealment, or an insincere repentance, to reproach them with." So says Llorente. May we not add, that, in the eyes of the inquisitors, this man's crime consisted not so much in endeavouring to get the Jew burnt, and his property confiscated for the benefit of the Inquisition, *as that he was found out in the attempt?*

Pedro d'Aguilar, a shearer, pretended to be an alguazil of the Inquisition, and appeared at Valladolid, with the wand of the holy office, on the day of the celebration of the first *auto da fé*; he afterwards went to a town, in the province of Campos, where he said that he was commissioned to open the tomb of a bishop, and take the bones to be burnt in an *auto da fé*, as belonging to a man who had died in the Judaic heresy. Pedro was condemned to receive four hundred stripes, to have his property confiscated, and to be sent to the galleys for life. This affair proves that the inquisitors considered it a much greater crime to pretend to be an alguazil of the holy office, than to bear false witness, and

to cause the death of a man, the confiscation of his property, and the condemnation of his posterity to infamy !

In 1559, an *auto da fé* was celebrated at Seville, at which 21 individuals were burnt in person, 1 in effigy, and 80 subjected to penances. The cases of those who appeared on this occasion are not remarkable.

In the following year, another celebration took place, at which 14 persons were burnt in person, 3 in effigy, and 34 were condemned to penances. One of those burnt in effigy on the latter occasion was Constantine Ponce de la Fuente, who died in the dungeons of the Inquisition during his trial. Fuente had been appointed by Charles V. his almoner and preacher. A month or two previous to the death of Charles, the depositions of several prisoners arrested for Lutheranism led to the arrest of Fuente. He began to prepare his defence; but his labour was rendered useless by an unfortunate occurrence, which convicted him beyond doubt of the heresies with which he was charged. He had entrusted some of his MS volumes to a woman named Isabella Martinez, a widow, resident in Seville, and they had been secreted within a wall in the cellar of the house in which she lived. This woman was arrested for Lutheranism, and her property confiscated; but it was found that her son had secreted some of her property in the house previous to the inventory being taken. An alguazil was sent to her son to claim the effects which he had concealed; and her son, having no doubt that his mother had acknowledged

the concealment of the books, offered to give them up if his own safety was guaranteed. The books were then delivered up, and afforded such evidence of the heresy of Fuenta as he himself could not attempt to reject. But he refused to name his accomplices and disciples, and was therefore thrown into a deep, damp, and dark dungeon, where the humid air, impregnated with the most noxious vapours, soon ended his sufferings. His effigy was burnt, the inquisitors giving out that he committed suicide in prison.

Nicholas Burton, a native of Bristol, was burnt in this *auto da fé*. He had arrived in Seville in a merchant vessel, the cargo of which he stated to be his own, though part of it proved to belong to John Fronton, another Englishman (of whom more hereafter). He was accused of having adopted the Lutheran heresy, and although not a resident in Spain, his property was seized and confiscated, and he himself burnt.

John Fronton, being owner of a considerable part of the merchandise in Burton's possession, which had been confiscated, arrived in Seville, and applied to the Inquisition to have the property restored to him. After being subjected to great expense and delay in the matter, the inquisitors found that they could not deny his rights, and they promised to restore the goods. In the meantime, however, they caused depositions to be laid against Fronton for being a Lutheran; and in order to save his life, he acknowledged everything the inquisitors pleased to assert, and demanded to be reconciled. The inqui-

sitors *mercifully* consented, declared him violently suspected of Lutheranism, confiscated his property, and condemned him to wear the *san-benito* for one year.

Gaspard de Benarides, an alcalde of the Inquisition, who appeared in this *auto da fé* with a flambeau in his hand, was banished for life from Seville, at the same time losing his situation in the tribunal, for having failed in zeal and attention to his employment. His crimes were,—purloining part of the food of the prisoners, giving them bad food, and making them pay for it at the same rate as for good, not preparing it properly, and falsifying his accounts. If any prisoner complained, he removed him to damp and dark dungeons, falsely asserting that it was done by order of the inquisitors, and leaving him there for a fortnight or longer; and in order to conceal all these misdeeds, he next day informed any prisoner who desired to have an audience, that the inquisitors were so busy that they could not then grant one. Our readers will agree with us, that the punishment of this man was disproportioned not only to the general punishments of the holy office, but to the crimes of which he was found guilty.

Donna Jane Bohorques, sister of a victim in a former *auto da fé*, was declared innocent in this one. Her sister, while in the prisons of the holy office, charged with Lutheranism, declared that Jane was aware of the opinions she held, and had not opposed them. On this, Jane was arrested, and immured in the prisons of the Inquisition. The fact of her being in a state of pregnancy did not

prevent the inquisitors subjecting her to the torture. Some time afterwards, she was delivered, but in spite of her feeble health and forlorn condition, her child was taken from her eight days afterwards, the inquisitors thinking that they did her sufficient favour in not consigning her to the common prison, but allowing her to occupy one a *little* better than usual. Fortunately, she had as a companion in the same cell a girl who was charged with Lutheranism, and was afterwards burnt. From her she derived some assistance and comfort during her illness, but had soon to repay the kindness, the girl being tortured, and her limbs nearly dislocated. Jane Bohorques, before her strength would allow, was again subjected to the torture, with the most fiendish cruelty; the cords which bound her limbs penetrated to her bones, and caused the bursting of several blood-vessels; blood flowed from her mouth in torrents, and she was carried back in a dying state to her dungeon, where she expired in a few days. The inquisitors made what they considered a sufficient expiation for this revolting murder, (for we can call it by no other name,) by having it declared at the *auto da fé* that she was innocent of the crime with which she was charged.

CHAPTER VI.

DURING the ministry of Valdes, it was found necessary to prepare a new code of laws for the government of the inquisitors, those previously ordained having fallen into disuse, and a number of cases having, since that time, occurred for which they did not provide. Valdes accordingly published the following code, at Madrid, in September, 1561. The Inquisition was guided by these laws from the time they were promulgated, till it ceased to exist.

PREAMBLE.—We, Don Ferdinand Valdes, by the grace of God, Archbishop of Seville, Apostolical Inquisitor General against heresy and apostasy in all the kingdoms and domains of his majesty, &c.; we inform you, venerable apostolical inquisitors, that we understand that although it has been provided by the ordinances of the holy office, that the same manner of proceeding should be exactly followed in all the Inquisitions, there are, nevertheless, some tribunals where this measure has not been, and is not, well observed. In order to prevent any difference for the future, in the conduct of the tribunals, and the forms which should be followed, it has been resolved, after communicating and consulting with the council of the general Inquisition, that the following order shall be observed by the tribunals of the holy office:

1st. When the inquisitors admit an information, which shews that propositions have been advanced, which ought to be denounced to the holy office, they must consult theologians of learning and integrity, and capable of qualifying the same propositions; that they shall give their opinion in writing, certified by their signature.

2nd. If it is certain, from the opinion of the theologians, that the object of their examination is a matter of faith, or if it is apparent, without consulting them, and the denounced fact is sufficiently proved, the procurator fiscal shall denounce the author of it, and the individuals implicated, if there are any, and shall require that they be arrested.

3rd. The inquisitors shall be assembled to decide if imprisonment should be decreed; in doubtful cases, they shall summon consulters, if they find it necessary.

4th. When the proof is not sufficient to cause the arrest of the denounced person, the inquisitors shall not cite him to appear, or subject him to any examination, because experience has shewn that a heretic, who is at liberty, will not confess, and this measure only makes him more reserved and attentive in avoiding everything that may increase the suspicions or proofs brought against him.

5th. If the inquisitors are not unanimous in decreeing an arrest, the writings of the trial shall be sent to the council, and this must likewise take place even when they are unanimous in their decisions, if the individuals to be arrested are persons of quality and consideration.

6th. The inquisitors shall sign the decree of arrest, and address it to the grand alguazil of the holy office. When it relates to a formal heresy, this measure shall be immediately followed by the sequestration of the property of the denounced person. If several persons are to be imprisoned, a decree of arrest shall be expedited for each individual, distinct and independent of each other, to be separately executed; this precaution is necessary to ensure secrecy, in case one alguazil cannot arrest all the criminals. A note shall be entered in the trial, stating the day on which the decree of arrest was delivered, and the person who received it.

7th. The alguazil shall be accompanied, in the execution of the decree of imprisonment, by the recorder of the sequestrations, and the stewards. He shall appoint a depository, and if the steward does not approve of the person mentioned, he shall appoint another himself, as he is responsible for the property.

8th. The recorder of the sequestrations shall note all the effects separately, with the day, the month, and year of the seizure; he shall sign it, with the alguazil, the steward, the depo-

itary, and the witnesses; he shall give a copy of this writing to the depositary; but if the others demand copies, he is permitted to require payment for them.

9th. The alguazil shall deduct from the sequestered property a sufficient portion to defray the expenses of the food, lodging, and journey of the prisoner; he shall give an account of what he received when he arrives at the Inquisition. If any money remains, he shall give it to the cashier, to be employed in the maintenance of the prisoner.

10th. The alguazil shall require the prisoner to give up his money, papers, arms, and every thing which it might be dangerous for him to be in possession of; he shall not allow him to have any communication, either by speech or writing, with the other prisoners, without receiving permission from the inquisitors. He shall remit all the effects found upon the person of the prisoner to the gaoler, and shall take a receipt, with the date of the day on which the remittance took place. The gaoler shall inform the inquisitors of the arrival of the prisoner, and he shall lodge him in such a manner that he cannot have at his disposal any thing which might be dangerous in his hands, unless they are confided to him, and he is obliged to be responsible. One of the notaries of the holy office shall be present, and draw up the verbal process of the decree of imprisonment and its execution; even the hour when the prisoner entered the prison must be mentioned, as this point is important in the accounts of the cashier.

11th. The gaoler shall not lodge several prisoners together; he shall not permit them to communicate with each other, unless the inquisitors allow it.

12th. The gaoler shall be provided with a register, in which all the effects in the chamber of the prisoner, with the clothes and food which he receives for each detained person, shall be noted; he shall sign the statement, with the recorder of the sequestrations, and shall give notice of it to the inquisitors; he shall not remit any food or clothing to the prisoners without examining them with great attention, to ascertain if they contain letters, arms, or anything of which they might make a bad use.

13th. When the inquisitors think proper, they shall order the prisoner to be brought into the chamber of audience; they shall cause him to sit on a bench or small seat, and take an

oath to speak the truth, at this time, and on all succeeding audiences; they shall ask him his name, his surname, his age, his country, the place where he dwells, his profession and rank, and the time of his arrest; they shall treat him with humanity, and respect his rank, but without derogating from the authority of judges, that the accused may not infringe the respect due to them, or commit any reprehensible act towards their persons. The accused shall stand while the act of denunciation by the fiscal is being read.

14th. The accused shall be afterwards examined on his genealogy. He shall be asked if he is married; if more than once, what woman he married; how many children he had by each marriage, their age, as well as their rank and place of dwelling. The recorder shall write down these details, paying attention to place each name at the beginning of a line, because this practice is useful in consulting registers, to discover if the accused is not descended from Jews, Moors, heretics, or other individuals punished by the holy office.

15th. When the preceding ceremony has passed, the accused shall be required to give an abridged history of his life, mentioning those towns where he has made a considerable stay, the motives of his sojourn, the persons he associated with, the friends he acquired, his studies, the masters he studied under, the period when he began them, and the time that he continued them; if he had been out of Spain, at what time and with whom he quitted the country, and how long he had been absent. He shall be asked if he is instructed in the truths of the Christian religion, and shall be required to repeat the *Pater-noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Credo*. He shall be asked if he has confessed himself, and to what confessors. When he has given an account of all these things, he shall be asked if he knows, or suspects, the cause of his arrest, and his reply shall regulate the questions put to him afterwards. The inquisitors shall avoid interrupting the accused while he is speaking, and shall allow him to express himself freely, while the recorder writes down his declarations, unless they are foreign to the trial. They shall ask all necessary questions, but shall avoid fatiguing him by examining him on subjects not relating to the trial, unless he gives occasion for it by his replies.

16th. It is proper that the inquisitors should always suspect that they have been deceived by the witnesses, and that they

shall be so by the accused, and that they should not take either side; for, if they adopt an opinion too soon, they will not be able to act with that impartiality which is suitable to their station, and, on the contrary, will be liable to fall into error.

17th. The inquisitors shall not speak to the accused during the audience, or at other times, of any affair not relating to his own. The recorder shall write down the questions and replies; and, after the audience, he shall read it to the accused, that he may sign it. If he wishes to add, retrench, alter, or elucidate any article, the recorder shall write after his dictation, without suppressing or certifying the articles already written.

18th. The fiscal shall present his act of accusation within the time prescribed by the ordinances; he shall accuse the prisoner of being a heretic in general terms, and afterwards mention, in particular, the facts and propositions of which he is charged. The Inquisitors have not the right of punishing an accused person for crimes which do not relate to matters of faith; but if the preparatory instruction mentions any, the fiscal shall make it the object of an accusation, because this circumstance, and that of his general good or bad conduct, assists in determining the degree of credence to be given to his replies, and serves for other purposes in his trial.

19th. Although the accused may confess all the charges brought against him in the first audiences of *admonition*, yet, the fiscal shall draw up, and present, his act of accusation, because experience has shewn that it is better that a trial caused by the *denunciation* of a person who is a party in the cause should be continued and judged at the prosecution of the *denunciator*; that the inquisitors may be at liberty to deliberate on the application of punishments and penances, which would not be the case if they proceeded *officially*.

20th. Whenever the accused shall be admitted to an audience, he shall be reminded of the oath which he has taken to speak the truth.

21st. At the end of his requisition, the fiscal shall introduce a clause, importing, that if the inquisitors do not think his accusation sufficiently proved, they are requested to decree the torture for the accused, because, as it cannot be inflicted without previous notice, it is proper that the accused should be informed that it has been required; and this moment appears the most

convenient, because the prisoner is not prepared for it, and he will receive the notice with less agitation.

22nd. The fiscal shall himself present his requisition, or demand in accusation, to the inquisitors; the recorder shall read it in the presence of the prisoner, the fiscal shall make oath that he does not act from bad intentions, and retire; the accused shall then reply successively to all the articles of the act, and the recorder shall write down his answers in the same order, even if they are only denials.

23rd. The inquisitors shall give the prisoner to understand that it is of great consequence to him to speak the truth. One of the advocates of the holy office shall be appointed to defend him, *who shall communicate with him in the presence of an inquisitor*, in order to prepare himself to reply in writing to the accusation, after swearing fidelity to the accused, and secrecy to the tribunal, although he had already taken that oath at the time that he was appointed *the advocate of the prisoners of the holy office*. He must endeavour to persuade the accused that it is of the greatest consequence to be sincere, to ask pardon, and submit to a penance if he acknowledges his guilt. His reply shall be communicated to the fiscal, who, with the prisoner and his advocate, shall be present at the audience, and shall demand the proofs. The inquisitors shall admit the requisition, but without naming the day, or informing the parties of it, because neither the accused, nor any other person in his name, has the right of being present when the witnesses take their oaths.

24th. The recorder shall read to the advocate all that the accused has declared relating to himself, but shall omit all that he has said concerning others; this communication is necessary to the advocate, that he may establish the defence of his client. If he wishes to make any additions to his declaration, the advocate must be obliged to retire.

25th. If the accused has not attained the age of twenty five years, a guardian shall be appointed for him before the accusation is read. The advocate may fill that office, or any other person of known honour and integrity. The prisoner, with the approbation of his guardian, shall ratify all that he has declared in former audiences; and he shall afterwards be attended by the same person in all the circumstances of the trial.

26th. When the proof has been admitted, the fiscal shall

announce, in the presence of the accused, that he reproduces and presents the witnesses, and the proofs which existed in the writings, and the registers of the holy office; he shall demand that they proceed to the *ratification* of the witnesses who have been examined in the preparatory instruction, that the witnesses shall be confronted, and the depositions published. If the accused or his advocate speak at this time, the recorder shall write down all that they say.

27th. If the accused confesses himself guilty of another crime, after the proof is admitted, the fiscal shall accuse him of it, and he shall be prosecuted according to the ordinary forms. If the proof of the first crime is increased, it will be sufficient to inform the prisoner of the circumstance.

28th. In the interval between the proof and the publication, the prisoner may demand audiences through the gaoler. The inquisitors must grant them without delay, in order to profit by the inclination of the accused, which may change from day to day.

29th. The inquisitor must not neglect to cause the *ratification* of the witnesses, or to take any measures to discover the truth.

30th. The *ratification* of the witnesses shall take place before responsible persons, such as two priests, Christians of an ancient race, and of a pure life and reputation. The witnesses shall be asked in their presence, if they recollect having deposed in any trial before the Inquisition; if they reply in the affirmative, they shall be questioned on the circumstances and the persons interested in it. When they have given satisfaction on this article, they shall be informed that the fiscal has presented them as witnesses in the trial of the prisoner. Their first declaration shall be read to them, and if they say that they have attested those facts, they shall be required to ratify them, making any additions, suppressions, explanations, and alterations which they may think proper. These shall all be mentioned in the verbal process; it shall also be stated if the witness is at that time at liberty, or detained in the chamber of audience, or in his chamber, and why he has not appeared in the ordinary place.

31st. When the ratification of the witnesses is concluded, the publication shall be prepared, taking a copy of each deposition; it shall be literal, *except in all that may tend to discover the witnesses to the accused*. If the declaration is too long, it shall be divided into several chapters. At the publication of

the depositions, they shall not be read to the accused all at once, nor all the articles of a long declaration. The first head of the deposition of the first witness shall be read to him, that he may reply to it with more precision and facility; they shall then pass to the second chapter, then to the third, following the same order in all the depositions. The inquisitors shall hasten as much as possible the publication of the depositions, to spare the accused the anxiety of a long delay; they shall avoid all that may lead him to suppose that new charges have been brought against him, or that those already made are more extended than in their own declarations; and although such circumstances may have occurred, and the accused has denied the charges, they shall cause the delay of the formalities and the conclusion of the trial.

82nd. The inquisitors shall fulfil the form of the *publication*, dictating to the recorder all that is to be written in the presence of the accused, or they shall write it themselves and sign it. This writing shall be dated with the year, the month, and the day when the witness deposed, provided that it was not inconvenient to do so; it would be improper if the deponent was in prison. They shall also mention the time and place when the facts occurred, because this is useful to the accused in his defence; but the place must only be designated in general terms. In the copy of the deposition, *the third person* shall be used, although the witness spoke in the *first*. Thus it must be said: "The witness has seen or heard the accused conversing with an individual," &c.

83rd. If an accused, who has made declarations in several sittings, reveals crimes committed by persons whom he named, and afterwards makes new declarations, only citing those persons in a vague and general manner, employing, for example, the words, "*all those whom I have named*," or a similar expression; these accusations cannot be brought against any accused person, as they do not apply in a direct manner; this must oblige the inquisitors to pay attention to the prisoner who speaks of different individuals, and cause him to name one after the other, and afterwards to state the facts or words which he imputes to them.

84th. Although the accused has denied the charges, the publication of the depositions must be read to him, that he may not call in question the regularity of the proceedings of the

tribunal which has arrested him, and that the judges may rely with more confidence on the law, when they pass sentence; for this discretionary power exists only if the accused is convicted, and confesses himself guilty; otherwise, the charges brought against him by the witnesses, whose declarations have not been mentioned to him, cannot be of any value, particularly in a trial of this kind, when the accused is not present at the oath of the witnesses.

35th. When the accused has replied to the publication of the depositions, he shall be permitted to consult with his advocate, in the presence of an inquisitor and the recorder, that he may prepare his defence. The recorder shall write down the particulars of the conference which he considers worthy of attention. Neither the inquisitor nor recorder, still less the advocate, shall remain alone with the accused. It shall be the same with all other persons, except the gaoler or his deputy. It is sometimes eligible that learned and pious persons should visit the accused, to exhort them to confess what they obstinately deny, though they have been convicted. These interviews can only take place in the presence of the recorder or an inquisitor. Procurators shall not be permitted to be appointed for the prisoner, though the old instructions have established this measure, because experience has shewn that great inconvenience arises from it; besides which, the accused derives little advantage from it. If any unforeseen circumstance renders this measure necessary, the advocate may be appointed to fill the office.

36th. If the accused wishes to write, to fix the points of his defence, he shall be furnished with paper; *but the sheets shall be counted*, and numbered by the recorder, that the accused may give them back again either written upon or blank. When his work is finished, he shall be allowed to converse with his advocate, to whom he may communicate what he has written, on condition that his defender restores the original without taking a copy, when he presents his address to the tribunal. When there is an examination in defence of the prisoner, he shall be required to name, on the margin of each article, the witnesses he wishes to call, that those who are the most worthy of credit may be examined. He must also be required to name as witnesses none but Christians of an ancient race, who are neither his servants nor relations, unless it is a case where the questions can be answered by them only. Before the address

is presented by the advocate, if the accused requires it, it shall be communicated to him, and the inquisitors shall desire the advocate to confine himself to the defence of the accused in what he has to say, and to observe a strict silence on everything said in the world, as experience has shown the inconvenience of this sort of revelations, even in respect to the accused persons; they shall cause him to restore all the papers, without taking copies of them, or even of the address, of which he must give up the notes, if there are any.

37th. Whenever the prisoner is admitted to an audience, the fiscal shall examine the state of the trial, to ascertain if he has declared anything new, of himself or others; he shall receive his declaration judicially, and mark the names of the persons of whom he has said anything, and all the other points which might elucidate the affair, in the margin.

38th. The inquisitors shall receive the informations relative to the defence of the accused, the depositions in his favour, the indirect proofs and challenges of the witnesses, with as much care and attention as they receive those of the fiscal; that the detention of the prisoner, which prevents him acting for himself, may not be an obstacle to the discovery of the truth.

39th. When the inquisitors receive important information in defence of the prisoner, he shall be brought before the tribunal, accompanied by his advocate; they shall inform him that the proofs of all the circumstances which might mitigate his crime have been received, and that they can conclude the trial, unless any other demand occurs on their part, in which case they will do everything which may be permitted for the prisoner. If he declares that he has nothing more to say, the fiscal may give in his conclusions. It will be proper, however, that he should not do it immediately, that he may take advantage of every circumstance that may take place. If the accused demands the publication of the depositions in his defence, it must be refused, as it may tend to discover the persons who have deposed against him.

40th. When the trial is so far advanced that the sentence may be passed, the inquisitors shall convoke the ordinary and the consultants. As there is no reporter, the dean of the inquisitors shall report the trial, without giving any opinion, and the recorder shall read it in the presence of the inquisitors and the fiscal, who shall sit by the consultants, and retire when he

has heard the report, before the judges give their votes. The consultants shall give their votes first, and then the ordinary, the inquisitors after him, and the dean the last. Each voter shall be at liberty to make any observations which he thinks proper, in giving his vote, without being interrupted or prevented. If the inquisitors give different votes, they shall explain their motives, to prove that there is nothing arbitrary in their conduct. The recorder shall write each opinion in a register, prepared for the purpose, and shall afterwards join it to the trial, to give testimony of it.

41st. When the accused confesses himself guilty, and his confessions have the required conditions, if he has not relapsed, he shall be admitted to reconciliation; his property shall be seized, he shall be clothed in the habit of a penitent, or a *sambenito*, (which is a scapulary of linen or yellow cloth, with two crosses of St. Andrew, of another colour,) and he shall be confined in the prison for those who are condemned to perpetual imprisonment, namely, that of *Mercy*. As to the colours of the habit he is to wear, and the confiscation of his property, there are *fueros* and privileges existing in some provinces of Arragon, and other rules and customs, which must be conformed to, in acquitting the criminal and restoring his ordinary garments to him, according to the sentence. If it is proper that he should remain in prison for an unlimited time, it shall be said, in his sentence, that his punishment shall last as long as the inquisitors think proper. If the accused has really relapsed, after abjuring a *formal* heresy, or is a *false penitent* when he has abjured as *violently* suspected, and is convicted in the present trial of the same heresy, he shall be given up to the common judge, according to the civil law, and his punishment shall not be remitted, although he may protest that his repentance is sincere, and his confession true in this case.

42nd. The abjuration must be written after the sentence, and signed by the accused; if he is incapable of signing it, this ceremony must be performed by an inquisitor and the recorder; if the condemned abjures in a public *auto da fè*, the abjuration must be signed the next day in the chamber of audience.

43rd. If the accused is convicted of heresy, bad faith, and obstinacy, he shall be *relaxed*; but the inquisitors must not

neglect to endeavour to convert him, that he may die in the faith of the Church.

44th. If an accused, who has been condemned, and informed of his sentence on the day before the *auto da fê*, repents during the night, and confesses his sins, or part of them, in a manner that shows true repentance, he shall not be conducted to the *auto da fê*, but his execution shall be suspended, because it might be improper to allow him to hear the names of the persons condemned to death, and those condemned to other punishments, for this knowledge, and the report of the offence, might assist him in preparing his judicial confession. If the accused is converted on the scaffold of the *auto da fê*, before he has heard his sentence, the inquisitors must suppose that the fear of death has more influence in this conversion than true repentance; but if, from different circumstances and the nature of the confession, they wish to suspend the execution, they are permitted to do so, considering, at the same time, that confessions made in such circumstances are not worthy of belief, and more particularly those which accuse other individuals.

45th. The inquisitors must maturely consider motives and circumstances before they decree the torture; and when they have resolved to have recourse to it, they must state the motive; they must declare if the torture is to be employed *in caput proprium*, because the accused is subjected to it as persisting in his denials, and incompletely convicted in his own trial; or if he suffers it *in caput alienum*, as a witness who denies, in the trial of another accused, the facts of which he has been a joint witness. If he is convicted of bad faith in his own cause, and is consequently liable to be *relaxed*, or if he is equally so in any other affair, he may be tortured, though he must be given up to the secular judge for what concerns him personally. If he does not reveal anything in being tortured, as a witness, he shall nevertheless be condemned as an accused; but if the question forces him to confess his crime, and that of another person, and he solicits the indulgence of his judges, the inquisitors shall conform to the rules of right.

46th. If only a semi-proof of the crime exists, or if appearances will not admit of the acquittal of the prisoner, he shall make an abjuration as being either *violently* or *slightly* suspected. As this measure is not a punishment for the past,

but a precaution for the future, pecuniary penalties shall be imposed; but he shall be informed that if he again commits the crime for which he was denounced, he will be considered as having *relapsed*, and be delivered over to the secular judge; for this purpose he shall sign his act of abjuration.

47th. In cases where only the semi-proof, or some indications, of a crime exist, the accused has been sometimes permitted to clear himself canonically before the number of persons appointed in the ancient instructions; the inquisitors, the ordinary, and the consulters may therefore allow it if they think proper; but they must observe that this proceeding is very dangerous, not often used, and can only be employed with great caution.

48th. The third manner of proceeding in this case is to employ the *question*. This measure is thought to be dangerous, and not certain, because its effects depend upon the physical strength of the subject; consequently no rule can be prescribed on this point, but it is left to the prudence and equity of the judges. Nevertheless, the *question* shall only be decreed by the ordinary, the consulters, and the inquisitors, or applied without their concurrence, as circumstances may occur, when their presence would be necessary.

49th. When it is necessary to decree the torture, the accused shall be informed of the motives for employing it, and the offences for which he is to suffer it; but after it has been decided, he shall not be examined on any particular fact, and shall be allowed to say what he pleases. Experience has shewn that if he is questioned on any subject when pain has reduced him to the last extremity, he will say anything that is required of him, which may be injurious to other persons, in making them parties concerned, and producing other inconveniences.

50th. The *question* shall not be decreed until the process is terminated, and the defence of the accused has been heard. As the sentence of recourse to the *question* admits of an appeal, the inquisitors shall consult the council if the case is doubtful; if the accused can maintain his appeal, it shall be admitted. But if the point of law is clear, the inquisitors are not required to consult the council, or to admit the application of the accused; they are at liberty to proceed immediately to execution, as if it had not been made.

51st. If the inquisitors think that the appeal ought to be admitted, they shall send the writings of the process to the supreme council, without informing the parties, or any individual not belonging to the tribunal, because the council will send an order to the inquisitors if it is considered proper that they should be made acquainted with it.

52nd. If an inquisitor is challenged, and there is another in the tribunal, the first shall abstain from performing his office, and the second shall take his place, after the council is informed of the circumstance. If there is only one inquisitor in the tribunal, the proceedings shall be suspended until the decision of the supreme council has been received; the same course shall be pursued if there are several inquisitors, and they are all challenged.

53rd. Twenty-four hours after the accused has been put to the question, he shall be asked if he persists in his declarations, and if he will ratify them. The notary of the tribunal shall appoint the time for this formality, and likewise that for the application of the question. If at this moment the accused ratifies his declarations in such a manner that the inquisitors may believe him to be converted, repentant, and sincere in his confessions, he may be admitted to reconciliation, notwithstanding the article in the ordinance of Seville, in 1484. If the accused retracts his declarations, the inquisitors shall proceed according to rule.

54th. When the inquisitors, the ordinary, and the consulters decree the question, they shall not decide on what is to be done after it has been administered, as the result is uncertain, nothing being regulated on this point. If the accused resists the torture, the judges shall deliberate on the nature, form, and quality of the torture which he has suffered, on the degree of intensity with which it was inflicted, on the age, strength, health, and vigour of the patient; they shall compare all these circumstances, with the number, the seriousness of the indications which lead to the supposition of his guilt, and they shall decide if he is already cleared by what he has suffered; if in the affirmative, they shall declare him free from prosecution, in the other case, he shall abjure according to the nature of the suspicion.

55th. The judges, the notary, and the executioners shall be present at the torture; when it is over, the inquisitors shall

cause an individual who has been wounded to be properly attended, without allowing any suspected person to approach him, until he has ratified his declaration.

56th. The inquisitors shall take every precaution that the gaoler shall not insinuate anything to the accused relating to his defence, that he may only follow his inclination in all that he says. This measure does not allow the gaoler to fill the office of guardian or defender to the prisoner, or even representative of the fiscal; he may, however, serve as a writer for the accused, if he does not know how to write; in this case he shall be prohibited from substituting his own ideas for those of the accused.

57th. The affair being for the second time in a state for passing sentence, there shall be a new audience of the inquisitors, the ordinary, the consulters, the fiscal, and the notary. The fiscal shall hear the report of the last incidents, to ascertain if it contains anything important relating to his office; after it has been read he shall retire, that the judges may remain alone, when they proceed to vote.

58th. When the inquisitors release an accused person from the secret prisons, he shall be conducted to the chamber of audience; they shall there ask him if the goaler treated him and the other prisoners well, or ill; if he has communicated with him or other persons on subjects foreign to the trial; if he has seen or known that other prisoners conversed with persons not confined in the prison, or if the goaler gave them any advice. They shall command him to keep secret these details, and all that has passed since his detention, and shall make him sign a promise to this effect, if he knows how to write, that he may fear to break it.

59th. If the prisoner dies before the trial is terminated, and his declarations have not extenuated the charges of the witnesses, so as to give a sufficient cause for reconciliation, the inquisitors shall give notice of his death to his children, his heirs, or other persons who have the right of defending his memory and property; and if there is cause to pursue the trial of the deceased, a copy of the depositions and the act of accusation shall be remitted to them, and all that they advance in favour of the accused shall be received.

60th. If the mind of an accused person becomes deranged,

before the conclusion of the trial, a guardian or defender shall be appointed for him; if the children or relations of the accused present any means of defence in his favour to the tribunal, when he is in possession of his senses, the inquisitors shall not permit them to be joined to the other writings of the process, because neither the children nor relations of the accused are lawful parties; yet, in a distinct and separate writing, they may decree what they think fit, and take measures to discover the truth, without communicating with the prisoner or the persons who represent him.

61st. When sufficient proof exists to authorise proceedings against the memory and property of a deceased person, according to the *ancient introduction*, the accusation of the fiscal shall be signified to the children, the heirs, or other interested persons, each of whom shall receive a copy of the notification. If no person presents himself to defend the memory of the accused, or to appeal against the seizure of his goods, the inquisitors shall appoint a defender, and pursue the trial, considering him as a party. If any one interested in the affair appears, his rights shall be admitted, although he should be a prisoner in the holy office at the time; but he shall be obliged to choose a free person to act for him. Until the affair is terminated, the sequestration of the property cannot take place, because it has passed into other hands; yet the possessors shall be deprived of it if the accused is found guilty.

62nd. If a person is found not liable to prosecution, this resolution of the tribunal shall be announced in the *auto da fé*, by a public act, in any manner most suitable to the interested party; the errors with which he was charged shall not be designated, if the accusation is not proved. If a deceased person is not free from prosecution, the judgment shall be formally published, because the action was public and notorious.

63rd. When the defender is appointed for the memory of a person accused after his death, in default of interested persons to take his defence, the choice must only fall on a person not belonging to the Inquisition; but he must be required to keep all the proceedings secret, and not to communicate the depositions and the accusations to any but the lawyers of the prisoners, unless a decision of the inquisitors authorise him to make them known to other persons.

64th. When absent individuals are to be tried, they shall

be summoned to appear, by three public acts of citation, at different intervals, according to the known or supposed place of their residence. The fiscal shall denounce them as contumacious, at the end of each citation.

65th. The inquisitors may take cognizance of several crimes which occasion suspicion of heresy, although they do not consider the accused a heretic, on account of certain circumstances; such as bigamy, blasphemy, and suspicious propositions. In these cases, the application of the punishments depends upon the prudence of the judges, who ought to follow the rules of right, and consider the gravity of the offence. However, if they condemn the accused to corporeal punishment, such as whipping, or the galleys, they shall not say that it may be commuted for pecuniary penalties; for this measure would be an extortion, and an infringement of the respect due to the tribunal.

66th. If the inquisitors and the ordinary differ in opinion when they assemble to give their votes on the definitive sentence, the trial shall be referred to the supreme council; but if the division is produced by the manner in which the consulters have voted, the inquisitors may pass them over, (although they may be more numerous,) and establish the definitive sentence on their own votes, and that of the ordinary, unless the importance of the case compels them to apply to the council, even if the inquisitors, the consulters, and the ordinary are unanimous.

67th. The secret notaries shall draw up as many literal and certified copies of the declarations of the witnesses and the accused, as there are persons designated as guilty, or suspected, of the crime of heresy, that there may be a separate proceeding against each; for the writings which contain the original charges are not sufficient, since experience has shown that it always causes confusion, and the prescribed method has been employed several times, although it increases the labour of the notaries.

68th. When the inquisitors are informed that any of the prisoners have communicated with other detained persons, they shall ascertain the truth of the fact, inform themselves of the name and quality of the denounced persons, and if they are accused of the same species of crime. These details shall be mentioned in the process of each prisoner. In these cases little credit can be given to any subsequent declarations made by

these persons, either in their own cause, or in the trial of another.

69th. When a trial has been suspended by the inquisitors, if another commences, though for a different crime, the charges of the first shall be added to those of the second, and the fiscal shall maintain them in his act of accusation, because they aggravate the new crime of which the prisoner is accused.

70th. When two or more prisoners have been placed in the same prison, they shall not be afterwards separated, or introduced to other companions. If extraordinary circumstances make it impossible to comply with this order, they shall be stated in the process of each person, and this incident ought to diminish the weight of their declarations after the change; for it is certain that each prisoner will tell his companions all that he knows and has seen, and that these reports will influence the other prisoners in the recantations which they sometimes oppose to their first confessions.

71st. If a prisoner fall sick, the inquisitors must carefully provide him with every assistance, and more particularly attend to all that relates to his soul. If he asks for a confessor, the inquisitors shall summon a learned man, worthy of possessing their confidence: they shall recommend that he shall not undertake any commission for any person, during the sacramental confession; and if the accused gives him one out of the tribunal of penance, that he shall communicate to the Inquisition everything relating to his trial. The confessor shall be required to inform the accused that he cannot be absolved in the sacrament of penitence, unless he confesses the crime of which he is accused. If the sick person is in danger of dying, or is a woman about to be delivered, the rules appointed for such cases shall be followed. If the accused does not ask for a confessor, and the physician declares that he is in danger, he shall be induced to make the request, and to confess himself. If the accused makes a judicial confession of his crime, agreeing with the charges, he shall be reconciled, and when he has been acquitted by the tribunal, the confessor shall give him absolution. In case of death, ecclesiastic sepulture shall be granted, but secretly, unless it is convenient. If the accused demands a confessor when he is in good health, it may be useful to refuse it, as he cannot be absolved until after his reconci-

liation, unless he has already judicially confessed enough to justify the charges; in that case, the confessor may encourage him to be patient.

72nd. The witnesses in a trial shall not be confronted, because experience has shewn that this measure is useless and inconvenient, independently of the infringement of the law of secrecy which is the result.

73rd. When an inquisitor visits the towns of the district of his tribunal, he shall not undertake any trial for heresy, or arrest any denounced person, but he shall receive the declarations, and send them to the tribunal. Yet if it is the case of a person whose flight may be apprehended, he may be arrested, and sent to the prisons of the holy office; the inquisitor may also decide upon affairs of small consequence, such as heretical blasphemies, which may be judged without arresting the parties. The inquisitor shall not exercise this authority, without being empowered by the ordinary.

74th. In the definitive sentence pronounced against an individual declared guilty of heresy, and condemned to be deprived of his property, the period when he first fell into heresy shall be indicated, because this knowledge may be useful to the steward of the confiscations; it shall likewise be mentioned if this declaration is founded on the confession of the accused, on the depositions of the witnesses, or on both. If this formality is omitted, and the steward demands that it shall be fulfilled, the inquisitors shall comply; if it cannot be done by all together, it shall at least be executed by one of them, or the consulters.

75th. An account shall be given by the gaoler of the common and daily nourishment of each prisoner, according to the price of the eatables; if there is in the prison a person of quality, or who is rich, and has several domestics, he shall be supplied with the quantity of food which he requires, but only on condition that the remnants be distributed to the poor, and not given to the gaoler.

76th. If the prisoner has a wife or children, and they require to be maintained from his sequestered property, a certain sum for each day shall be allowed them, proportioned to their number, age, quality, and the state of their health, as well as to the extent and value of these possessions. If any of the children exercise any profession, and can thus provide for themselves, *they shall not be allowed any part of the allowance.*

77th. When any trials are terminated, and sentences passed, the inquisitors shall fix the day for the celebration of an *auto da fé*. They shall give notice of it to the ecclesiastical chapter, and the municipality of the town, and likewise to the president and judges of the royal court, if there is one, that they may assemble with the tribunal, and accompany it to the ceremony, according to custom. They shall use proper means that the execution of those who are to be relaxed shall take place before night, in order to prevent accidents.

78th. The inquisitors shall not permit any person to enter the prisons on the day before the *auto da fé*, except the confessors and the familiars of the holy office, when their employments make it necessary. The familiars shall receive the prisoner, and be responsible for him, after the notary has taken evidence of it in writing, and shall be required to take him back to the prisons after the ceremony of the *auto da fé*, if he is not given over to the secular judge; they shall not allow any one to speak to him on the road, or inform him of anything that is passing.

79th. On the day after the *auto da fé*, the inquisitors shall cause all the reconciled persons to be brought into their presence. They shall explain to each the sentence which had been read the day before, and shall tell him to what punishment he would have been condemned, if he had not confessed his crime; they shall examine them all, particularly on what passes in the prisons; and they shall afterwards give them into the custody of the gaoler of the *perpetual* prisons, who shall be commissioned to observe that they accomplish their penances, and to inform them when they fail. He shall also be required to supply the prisoners with what they want, and to procure work for those who can occupy themselves, that they may contribute to their subsistence, and be able to alleviate their misery.

80th. The inquisitors shall visit the perpetual prisons from time to time, to observe the conduct of the prisoners, and if they are well treated. In those places where there is no perpetual prison, a house shall be provided instead, for without this precaution, it is impossible to inflict the punishment of imprisonment on those who are condemned to it, or to ascertain if they faithfully accomplish their penances.

81st. The *san-benitos* of all those persons who have been condemned to relaxation, shall be exposed in their respective

parishes, after they have been burnt in person or in effigy; the same shall be done with the *san-benitos* of the reconciled persons, after they have left them off: no *san-benitos* shall be suspended in the churches, for those individuals who have been reconciled before the term of grace, as they have not been condemned to wear them. The inscription for the *san-benito* shall consist of the names of the condemned persons, a notice of the heresies for which they were punished, and of the time when they suffered their penance, in order to perpetuate the disgrace of the heretics and their descendants.

These laws may at first sight appear very stringent, and well calculated to restrain the inquisitors and other officials of the holy office within due bounds; but it was impossible that the supreme or any other council could efficiently control the proceedings of inquisitors who not only had been accustomed to a certain laxity of procedure, but had to be entrusted with a discretionary power sufficient to enable them to act almost uncontrolled. These considerations will enable us, therefore, to account for the fact that, in cases occurring subsequently to the promulgation of these laws, the greatest injustice was committed against those whose fate it was to fall into the toils of the inquisition. We may judge of the little benefit which a prisoner would derive from the "discretionary power" of an inquisitor, when we remember that to the religious bigotry which filled the minds of the class to which he belonged, was superadded the desire to increase the revenue of the holy office, and thus indirectly add to his own emolument. We are, therefore, to understand these laws as an exposition of the opinion of Valdes and his coadjutors as to what the Inqui-

sition *ought to be*, rather than as an index of what it *was*.

We shall now return to the *autos da fé* celebrated during the ministry of Valdes. During the latter part of this period, on the average, *one auto da fé* at least was held yearly by every tribunal in Spain. Thus, in the town of Murcia, there was one on the 7th June, 1557, at which eleven persons were burnt; another on the 12th February, 1559, at which thirty were burnt; another on the 14th February, 1560, at which fourteen were burnt; another on the 8th September, in the same year, at which sixteen were burnt; another on the 15th March, 1562, at which twenty-three were burnt; and another on the 20th May, 1563, at which seventeen were burnt. In the last of these appeared Don Philip of Arragon, son of the Emperor of Fez and Morocco, whose rank was not sufficient to protect him from the charge of having a leaning to the Mahomedan faith, with being a favourer and concealer of heretics, and with practising sorcery. He was found guilty, and was compelled to undergo the disgrace of appearing in the *auto da fé*, his head surmounted by a paper mitre, which terminated in long horns, and was covered with figures of devils. In addition to this punishment, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment in a convent, and perpetual banishment after that time from the provinces of Valencia, Arragon, Murcia, and Granada. Another who appeared, on the same occasion, was the licentiate Antonio de Villena, a priest and preacher, highly esteemed at court. His crimes were, having

betrayed the secrets of the holy office, (in which he had been twice confined,) and having spoken ill of the tribunal and of Valdes. He was sentenced (as slightly suspected) to appear in the *auto da fé* in his shirt, his head uncovered, and a flambeau in his hand. He was also condemned to one years' imprisonment, two years' banishment from Madrid, and a fine of five hundred ducats towards the expenses of the holy office; in addition to which, he was deprived of his privilege of ever preaching again. Juan de Sotomayor had been arrested on suspicion of Judaism, and had been condemned to a penance. On being released, he spoke to several persons respecting the holy office, and repeated to them the confession he had made during his imprisonment. He was again apprehended, tried, and for this crime condemned to appear in the *auto da fé* with a gag in his mouth and a cord round his neck, to receive two hundred stripes, and be imprisoned for life in the *House of MERCY*! At the same time, he received a gentle hint that if he ventured to repeat the offence he would be much more severely dealt with.

A case which singularly shews the wish of the inquisitors to obtain informations (whether true or false mattered not,) against various persons, may here be related. Melchior Hernandez, once a merchant of Toledo, (which place he left that he might settle in Murcia,) was arrested by the tribunal of the latter town, in 1564, charged with Judaism. The evidence of the witnesses was contradictory, and several of those who appeared against him

were known to be his enemies; yet he was detained in custody. He became dangerously ill, and demanded an audience, at which he declared that in 1553 he was present at a meeting of certain persons, (whom he named,) at which the law of Moses was made the subject of conversation. A few days later, on his re-examination, he declared that all that had been said in the assembly was spoken in jest. After the expiration of a few more days, he stated that he had not heard what these persons had said, and that he had previously affirmed the contrary because the witnesses had deposed to that effect. He was then examined by the visitor of the tribunal, to whom he declared that if he had affirmed anything, he had been induced to do it from fear of death. He was afterwards tortured, to compel him to confess what he knew respecting certain suspected persons; but he bore the torture without uttering a word. On the 18th of October, 1565, he was declared to be a Jewish heretic, to be guilty of concealment in his judicial confession, and was condemned to be relaxed; that is, burnt. The sentence was to be executed on the 9th December, 1565, and on the 7th, he was exhorted to confession. He replied that he had confessed all he knew. Next day, being desired to prepare for death, he demanded an audience, and declared that he had seen the persons he had already mentioned, as well as others, at the meeting, and that they spoke of the law of Moses, but that he considered these conversations of no consequence, and a mere pastime. Between this time and the commencement of the

auto da fé, next day, he made several additional communications, in the hope of escaping death, on each occasion giving the names of some more parties, whom he stated to have been with him, and to have been his accomplices. All these disclosures having proved unavailing in inducing the inquisitors to suspend his execution, Melchior at last stated that he had really believed for a year what had been preached in the synagogue, but had not confessed the fact, because he thought there was no proof of the heresy in the depositions of the witnesses. The inquisitors, on this communication been made, decreed that Melchior should not appear in the *auto da fé* of that day, and that they would afterwards decide as to what should be done with him. At his various subsequent examinations, Melchior made the most extraordinary statements, contradictory to each other, and which seem to have puzzled the brains of his judges, but at last he was admitted to reconciliation. The fiscal now protested against such a course, and demanded that his previous sentence of relaxation, or burning, should be executed. The supreme council was consulted, and it decreed that a new examination of the prisoner, by the ordinary and the consulters, should be entered upon, the result to be communicated to the council. Three of the new judges voted for relaxation, two for reconciliation. The council decreed that Melchior should be burnt at the *auto da fé*, of the 8th June, 1567. On the 5th, 6th, and 7th of that month, Melchior (who did not know that he had been sentenced,) was called up, and again exhorted to discover his accom-

plices. He referred them to what he had confessed before. The habit of a relaxed person being then put on him, he declared that he could name other accomplices, and an inquisitor went to him to receive his confession. He named another synagogue, and persons whom he said he had seen there; and also wrote a list of seven more places of meeting, and the names of fourteen persons who frequented them. But his confession not being deemed satisfactory, he was conducted to the *auto da fé*, along with others condemned to be burnt. When he arrived at the place of execution, he demanded another audience of the inquisitors, and mentioned two more houses, and twelve heretics. In another audience he mentioned seven more persons, and in a third audience, which he obtained previous to the conclusion of the *auto da fé*, he mentioned two more houses, and six persons. The statements he made induced the inquisitors to suspend his execution, and send him to prison, which was the very thing Melchior wished, for he appears to have hoped everything from delay. But on the 23rd June, he seems to have despaired of the success of his schemes, for he endeavoured to excite the compassion of his judges, saying, "What more could I do than accuse myself falsely? Know that I have never been summoned to any assembly, that I never attended them for any purposes but those of commerce." After many audiences, he was for the third time sentenced to be relaxed. But he had not forgotten his former escapes, nor the means by which he accomplished them; and he again succeeded in returning from the *auto da fé*

unhurt. In five subsequent audiences, he made a long declaration against himself, and denounced a great number of persons; but he was told that "*he was still guilty of concealment, in not mentioning several persons not less distinguished and well known than those already denounced, and that he could not be supposed to have forgotten them.*" This mischievous suggestion fairly overcame Melchior; and after delivering an indignant invective against the inquisitors and all who appeared on the trial, he said, "What can you do to me? burn me?—well, then, be it so; I cannot confess what I do not know. Nevertheless, know that all I have said of myself is true, but what I have declared of others is entirely false. I have only invented it, *because I perceived that you wished me to denounce innocent persons; and being unacquainted with the names and quality of these unfortunate people, I named all whom I could think of, in the hope of finding an end to my misery. I now perceive that my situation admits of no relief, and I therefore retract all my depositions; and now, having fulfilled this duty, proceed to burn me as soon as you please.*" The papers relating to the trial were sent to the supreme council, which confirmed the sentence of relaxation, and reprimanded the inquisitors for having *summoned* the accused before them, as an audience should have taken place only at the request of the accused. Instead of submitting to this opinion, the inquisitors again called Melchior before them, and, after asking him whether he had anything more to communicate (to which he replied

in the negative), they represented to him that his declarations contained many contradictions, and that it was necessary, for the good of his soul, that he should finally make a confession of the truth respecting himself and all the guilty persons he was acquainted with. This artful speech had not the desired effect of inducing Melchior to retract his last declaration. He told them that if they wished to know the truth, they would find it in the declaration he made before the visitor Senor Ayora. It was found, on reference, that Melchior had there stated, *that he knew nothing of the subject on which he was examined*. The inquisitor then said, "How can this declaration be true, when you have several times declared that you have attended the Jewish assemblies, believed in their doctrines, and persevered in the belief for the space of one year, until you were undeceived by a priest?" Melchior replied, "I spoke falsely when I made a declaration against myself." "But how is it," said the inquisitor, "that what you have confessed of yourself, and many other things, which you now deny, are the result of the depositions of a great many witnesses?" "I do not know," replied Melchior, "if that is true, or false, for I have not seen the writings of the trial; but if the witnesses have said that which is imputed to them, it was because they were placed in the same situation as I am. They do not love me better than I love myself; and I have certainly declared against myself both truth and falsehood." Inquisitor—"What motive had you for



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in the negative. The representative said that his declaration contained many things which he thought it was necessary for the group to know. He said he should usually make a confession of his own wrongdoing, and all the other persons in the assembly were to do the same. This was the desired effect of making Melchior a witness in the last declaration. He told them that he had decided to know the truth they would find it in the declaration. He made before the group some other things which were found in reference that Melchior had stated that he was working of the subject of the he was examined. The representative then said that he could this declaration be true when you have several times declared that you have attended the Jewish assemblies, believed in their doctrines, and persevered in the belief for the space of one year, and you were undeceived by a prince?" Melchior replied, "I spoke falsely when I made a declaration against myself." "But how is it," said the representative, "that what you have confessed of yourself and many other things which you are doing is the result of the ...?" "I do not know," said Melchior, "that is true, or ... of the truth ... which is in ... were placed in the ..."

declaring things injurious to yourself, if they were false?" Melchior—"I did not think they would be injurious to me; on the contrary, I expected to derive great advantage from them, because I saw that if I did not confess anything, I should be considered as impenitent, and the truth would lead me to the scaffold. I thought that falsehood would be most useful to me, and I found it so in two *autos da fé*." After this audacious declaration, of course, nothing remained for the accused but death, and he was, on the 6th June, desired to prepare for it by next day. At two o'clock in the morning of the day on which he was to be burnt, he demanded an audience, and an inquisitor and secretary went to his cell. Melchior then said, "That at the point of appearing before the tribunal of the Almighty, and without any hope of escaping from death by new delays, he thought himself bound to declare that he had never conversed with any person on the Mosaical law; that all he had said on this subject was founded on the wish to preserve life, and the belief that his confessions were pleasing to the inquisitors; that he asked pardon of the persons implicated, that God might pardon him, and that no injury might be done to their honour and reputation." Melchior was strangled, and his body afterwards burnt.

Valdes was succeeded, in 1566, by Espinosa, who died in 1572. Don Pedro Ponce de Leon, Cardinal Gaspard de Quiroga, Don Jerome Manriquez de Lara, and Don Pedro Portocarrero, were

successively Inquisitors General, the last holding the office at the accession of Philip III.

The number of victims of the Inquisition during the reign of Philip II. (forty two years), has been estimated at 40,664; namely, 6300 burnt, 3124 burnt in effigy, and penances inflicted, 31,240. Philip II. died September, 1598, and was succeeded by his son Philip III., on whose reign we now enter.

CHAPTER VII.

ON Philip III. ascending the throne, he appointed, in 1599, Don Ferdinand Nino de Guevara, Inquisitor General, and requested Carrero, his predecessor, to retire to his diocese, in accordance with the tenor of a bull just issued by the Pope, requiring all bishops to do so. Guevara held the office till 1602, when *he* also was desired by Philip to retire to his diocese; and he was succeeded by Don Juan de Zuniga, Bishop of Carthagena, who died in the same year. The office was successively filled by Juan Baptiste de Acebedo, Bishop of Valladolid, who died in 1607; by Don Bernard de Sandoval Roxas, Archbishop of Toledo, who died in 1619; and by Don Fray Louis Aliaga, who held it till 1621, when he was deprived of it on the accession of Philip IV.

The expulsion of the Moors from Spain is the only matter in the history of the Spanish Inquisition, during this period, requiring much remark. For a considerable time previous to the reign of Philip III., efforts had been made to effect the conversion of the Moors throughout the Spanish dominions, but without success. They had, indeed, at a time when civil war was raging, submitted in large numbers to the ceremony of baptism, in order that

they might save their lives and property; but, on the danger being past, they either returned to their primitive faith, or boldly denied having been baptised: a denial which they knew they could make with little chance of being convicted of falsehood, since at the time when these mock conversions took place, the confusion incident to war, and the large number who submitted to the ceremony, prevented any registers of the baptisms being kept. Such desertions of the faith became so numerous, that the gentle persuasions of the Inquisition had to be called into requisition, but with so little effect, that new measures had to be devised. The ecclesiastics were now enjoined, not only by the Spanish monarch but by the Pope, to strive for the conversion of the Moors to Christianity; and in order that this might be more effectually accomplished, they were ordered to increase the number of churches for their instruction, and to augment the pay of the curates who were engaged in the attempt to convert them. The expense which the ecclesiastics were thus called upon to bear was anything but pleasing, and hence many complaints were made that the Moors were altogether inconvertible, and several plans proposed by which the kingdom could be relieved from the presence of such a number of heretics. It will be seen that this hatred of the Moors, on the part of the ecclesiastics, arose as much, or perhaps more, from a sense of their being a pecuniary burden than from religious bigotry. Be this as it may, no one showed a greater detestation of them than Don Juan de Ribera, Patriarch of Antioch and Archbishop of Valencia, who has

received credit for the most patriotic zeal for his country and the Catholic faith, in endeavouring to achieve their expulsion. We may well doubt the propriety of bestowing this praise when we find that, although he had previously shown his dislike to the Moors, yet, after Philip II. imposed a yearly tax of 3000 or 4000 dollars on his archbishopric, to increase the salaries of the curates engaged in instructing the Moors, his hatred became far more intense. In 1602, he presented a memorial to Philip III., with the intention of sounding the inclinations of the king. In it, he stated that in spite of all attempts to convert the Moors, they were as obstinately as ever attached to their religion; that many of them, although known to practise their religion in secret, had the same answer to any questions put to them as to their religion, namely—that they were already Christians; that the bishops and pastors of the Church were, consequently, under the painful necessity of administering the sacrament to those who, they were convinced, would sooner or later become apostates from the faith; that with such a number of heretics in the kingdom, it might be easy for a foe to overcome it; and that, as it was the will of heaven that his majesty should provide for the safety and tranquillity of his dominions, he hoped he might be pardoned if he exhorted his majesty to cause his ministers to apply themselves to a consideration of the subject, taking care that none should be consulted in the matter whose interests were likely to be affected.

The favour with which Philip, and his minister,

the Duke of Lerma, received this memorial, and letters which they both wrote to him, requesting that he would give his advice as to the most effectual means of carrying out his own recommendations, emboldened Ribera to propose, in a second memorial, the utter expulsion of the Moors from the kingdom; and, in giving this advice, he fortified his position with such scriptural authority and historical precedents, as were calculated to convince Philip of its soundness. Ribera also pointed out that the Moors were a hard-working and a frugal people; that they lived on little; and although those engaged in agricultural pursuits tilled the poorest land, they were managing to accumulate more wealth than Spaniards tilling the most fertile land; that they monopolised all the occupations where skill and industry were required; and that, if they were allowed to remain in their present situation, they would quickly gather all the riches of the kingdom into their hands; while, by increasing at such a rapid rate as they were, they would soon outnumber the Spaniards, and have the country in their own hands. With respect to those in Valencia, Ribera advised that, as they lived in communities by themselves, and there was consequently less chance of their infecting the Christians around them, they ought not to be at once expelled, the more especially as a portion of them practised many arts which were unknown to Christians, but which were nevertheless useful in ministering to the conveniences of life; and he represented that these arts would be entirely lost, and the country made desolate, by their immediate expulsion. But he

argued that these Moors ought to be heavily taxed, to support an army sufficient to provide against any revolt, and that their numbers ought to be diminished annually by drafts of some thousands of their young men to the galleys and mines, their places to be filled by Christians, who might thus become acquainted with their arts. But with respect to all the Moors not residing in Arragon or Valencia, Ribera advised their immediate expulsion, because they were much more cultivated (!), had mixed more among the Christians, were consequently more dangerously infectious, had many of them served in the navy, and were, therefore, better able to give pernicious advice to the enemies of the kingdom.

Philip, although his mind was bigoted, had a humane disposition, and he hesitated to adopt the counsel of Ribera. While debating with himself what course he would pursue, he received a remonstrance from the barons on whose estates the Moors resided. They had by some means become acquainted with the contents of the memorials presented by Ribera, and they now pointed out to Philip that the expulsion of the Moors would ruin an immense number who depended on the rents of their lands; that the Moors, and they only, were acquainted with many manufactures which were as necessary for foreign trade as for internal consumption; and that if their expulsion was effected, a great part of the kingdom would become waste. They also asserted that no sufficient evidence had been adduced to prove that they were all *Mahomedans*; that many had been regularly baptised

and admitted into the Christian church; and that although some might not be able to give a satisfactory exposition of the Christian faith, the same might be said of large numbers of other Christians of the lower ranks. They remarked further, that no proper methods of instructing or converting the Moors had been adopted; that, instead of conciliating their affections, force and persecution had been too often resorted to, as if such means were likely to enlighten their understandings; and they stated their conviction, that if the Moors were allowed to enjoy the same privileges as the other subjects of his majesty, and if conciliation were used instead of coercion, there would be no reason to despair of their conversion. This remonstrance, which was presented in the Cortes in 1604, determined Philip to delay the expulsion for a few years longer, and he appeared desirous in the mean time of re-attempting their conversion. He obtained a brief from the Pope, authorising him to impose a tax on the ecclesiastical revenues, to be applied partly to the building and endowing of a college for the Moors, and partly to augment the salaries of the curates among them, that he might induce men of abilities to apply themselves to the work. The college, however, remained unendowed, and the church livings remained of the same value as before; and it is supposed that the plan met with the disapprobation of either the Pope or the Spanish ecclesiastics, or both. It is probable that the latter was the case, for Ribera presented a *third* memorial to the king, replying to the assertions of the barons, and many other ecclesiastics supported

him in his efforts. Sandoval, the Inquisitor General, powerfully aided him, and vehemently opposed any scheme by which those holding the Mahommedan faith should be allowed to remain in the kingdom; asserting that it would be far better that they should all be put to the sword, than that the Spanish blood should be contaminated by a mixture with that of infidels. Philip's minister, the Duke of Lerma, being in favour of these views, Philip at last decided on their expulsion, as well those in Valencia as those in the other provinces; and the Inquisitor General himself travelled to Rome, to obtain the consent of the Pope. But in this he appears to have failed; the Pope does not appear to have issued any bull on the subject, if we except one addressed to the bishops of Valencia, desiring them to consult whether any method could be adopted for the conversion of the Moorish population. The Pope probably desired that the Spanish court should bear the disgrace of having originated and carried into operation such a cruel and iniquitous decree.

The expulsion, though now determined upon, was postponed till circumstances should be more favourable; and in the meantime such secrecy was observed, that neither the Moors themselves, nor the barons on whose estates they resided, had the remotest idea of such a measure being now seriously in contemplation. At length it was arranged that the Moors in Valencia should be first expelled, and in August, 1609, the commanders of many Spanish ships of war were ordered to receive troops on board, *and rendezvous* at certain ports on the coast of

Valencia, the assigned reason being a proposed expedition against the Moors of Barbary. The barons and the Moors, however, being on the watch, and finding that many conferences, from which they were excluded, were held at the house of the Viceroy of Valencia, and observing also that the Archbishop (who attended these meetings) was fortifying his palace with troops, and filling it with provisions, as if he anticipated a siege, suspected the truth, and called a meeting of their own number, at which it was resolved that deputies should wait on the viceroy, with a request that they might be informed of the reason of such preparations. The viceroy having returned an evasive answer, their suspicions were confirmed, and they held another meeting, at which a remonstrance to the king was drawn up, wherein it was asserted that the whole of Valencia would be ruined if the measure were carried into effect. Deputies waited on the king, and presented the remonstrance, but were told that his decision was unalterable, and that they were too late, for the edict of expulsion was already promulgated.

The edict was published in September, 1609, and its provisions were, that all the Moors, men, women, and children, were, on pain of death, to be prepared within three days to repair to the seaports appointed for their embarkation, and there to go on board the ships prepared to carry them to foreign countries; that, on pain of death, none were to change their residences till the commissioners appointed to accompany them to the coast should arrive; that all effects, except such as they could

carry with them, should belong to the lords whose vassals they were; and that, in the event of their destroying or concealing anything, they should be punished with death. That for the preservation of the sugar works, granaries of rice, drains or aqueducts, and in order that the Christians might be instructed in the arts and manufactures, which had hitherto been carried on exclusively by the Moors and their families, six families out of every hundred, to be named by the barons, might remain; that all children under four years of age might remain, provided their parents or guardians should consent; that children under six or seven years of age, one of whose parents was an old Christian, might remain, and the mothers with them, though the latter should be Moors; that all those expelled were to be permitted to depart into any country not subject to the crown of Spain, provided they left the kingdom within the specified time; and an assurance was given, that no violence or injury should be offered to them by those employed in transporting them under the orders of government.

On the publication of this edict, the grief and indignation of the Moors knew no bounds; and had they been accustomed to the use of arms, there can be little doubt that they would have resisted its enforcement, even though the precautions adopted by the civil power were such as would have at once crushed all opposition. It must be recorded of the barons that they acted in the most kind and generous manner to their afflicted vassals. Although by the *edict* all their vassals' property was confiscated to

them, yet, so far from taking advantage of the misery to which the Moors seemed doomed, they allowed them to sell every thing they could ; and assisted them with mules and carriages in carrying the remainder to the place of embarkation.

Previous to embarking, the leading men amongst the Moors met at Valencia, and drew up a memorial to the viceroy, in which they denied being guilty of the crimes imputed to them, and offered, in the event of the king recalling his edict, to maintain a certain number of galleys for the protection of the coast, to build so many new forts, and to garrison not only these, but all those already built ; to redeem all the Christians of Valencia who might ever be taken captive by the Moors ; and to furnish the king with a considerable sum of money. The viceroy replied that it was now too late to petition ; that the king was determined to enforce his edict ; and that they must prepare to embark. This cruel order, given without communicating with the king, thoroughly incensed the Moors, who unanimously resolved, that as the Christians had so little compassion for their sufferings, they would not accept the two offers which had been made them, of leaving their children, and six families out of every hundred ; the more especially as the latter offer was made, not out of consideration for them, but in order that the Spaniards might benefit by their services. The barons, who had been, to some extent at least, reconciled to the expulsion of the great bulk of the Moors, by the provisions which had been made for the retention of a portion of their number, endea-

voured to prevail on them to alter a decision so ruinous to the country; and succeeded so far that the Moors agreed to leave the stipulated number of families, provided these families were allowed the free exercise of their religion. The viceroy, being requested to grant this indulgence for two or three years, until the Christians should have become acquainted with the various manufactures, stated that his orders from the king were peremptory, not discretionary, and that he could not accede to their request. On this answer being conveyed to the Moors, out of more than 150,000, not one could be found who would stay.

The vessels which were to carry away the Moors being ready, and the army distributed so as to crush any insurrection which might be attempted, commissioners were sent with bodies of troops to collect the Moors, and escort them to the places of embarkation. The first who sailed were the vassals of the Duke of Gaudia, amounting in number to upwards of 20,000, who were safely landed at Oran, a Spanish fortress, on the coast of Barbary, and were kindly received by the viceroy, who made arrangements for their journey into the interior. They arrived at Tremecen, two days' journey from Oran, were treated hospitably, allowed to retain all their wealth, and admitted to all the privileges enjoyed by the natives.

As great fears had been entertained by the Moors, lest foul play should be intended on board ship, the first who embarked had no sooner arrived at their destination than they sent back ten of their

number, to assure those who had not yet embarked of their safety. As the winter was now approaching, and as many of the ships employed by the viceroy were found inefficient, other vessels were collected from the various seaports, and many, for the sake of expedition and comfort, were hired by the Moors themselves. Such was the interest felt by the barons in the fate of their late vassals, that not only did they attend them to the place of embarkation, and assist them in every possible way, but many actually accompanied them on board ship, and were not satisfied till they saw them safely landed in Africa. The miseries of the poor Moors, however, were not ended. Their expulsion, and the discomforts of their sea voyage, were not the worst evils which many of them had to endure. Large numbers were shipwrecked and drowned; and many of those who had preferred hiring private vessels to sailing in those provided by government, were murdered at sea, by the owners and crew, for the sake of obtaining their property; and the instances mentioned, by Spanish historians, of the horrible butchery perpetrated in these cases,—men murdered in the presence of their wives and children,—the children thrown overboard alive,—the females violated, only to meet the same fate as their protectors a few days afterwards,—can be equalled only by the most terrible instances in the annals of piracy. The details of some of these cases were brought to light on the trials of those engaged in the perpetration of the crimes, and who had quarreled as to the division of their ill gotten gear. But even of those who landed on the shores of Africa, comparatively few lived to reach an asylum

for themselves and their families. Some journeyed towards Algiers, some to Tremecen, some to Mostagan, and other places. Many were attacked and robbed by the wandering Arabs, and those who resisted were put to death; others perished of hunger and fatigue; and of 6000 persons who left the neighbourhood of Oran with the intention of proceeding to Algiers, *one* only is said to have reached his destination; while of 140,000, who about this time embarked for Africa, 100,000 are believed, by competent authorities, to have suffered death, in various ways, a month or two after their expulsion.

Some Moors, numbering nearly 30,000, who remained in Valencia, living in mountainous districts, imagined they might, with little difficulty, defend themselves against the civil power; and it was thought necessary, previous to any attempt being made to expel those in other parts of Spain, that these should be reduced to obedience. The troops being sent against them, their want of military discipline, and their feeble resources, quickly compelled about 22,000 of them to surrender. The remainder were put to flight, hotly pursued, and about 3,000 of them put to the sword. The remaining Moors were then more easily induced to leave the country, but the expense having been found to weigh heavily on the public purse, these had their gold, jewels, and other valuables confiscated by government, to defray the cost of their voyage.

We have related thus fully the expulsion of the Moriscoes, or Moors, of Spain, because the decline of *that* kingdom is in a very great degree to be

attributed to that measure, and because that measure and the enervation of the people are to be traced to the influence of the Inquisition, and the intolerance and bigotry of her ecclesiastics. The loss of a million industrious, and we may say *wealthy*, subjects must be a severe blow to any country, at any time; but in this instance, the loss was aggravated, for not only were the capital and labour of the Moors lost, but all the arts and manufactures in which they had been engaged were allowed to become extinct, because no Christians were qualified to take the place of the exiles; and the immense estates possessed by many of the nobility were allowed, for want of labour, to lie waste, their owners being in most instances entirely ruined. The Inquisition is concerned in this matter, inasmuch as it, in the first place, persecuted an immense number of the Moriscoes, for an alleged return to the Mahommedan faith; and in the second place, their expulsion was advised by the Inquisitor General, and was directly and indirectly assisted by the violent persecutions of the tribunal, the cruelties of which, besides generating in the minds of the Moriscoes the greatest obstinacy as to their religious tenets, and an inveterate hatred of a religion which could tolerate such enormities, had also the effect of preventing that intercommunication between the various classes of the community which was so desirable, and of keeping up and perpetuating that hatred between the Christians and Moriscoes which eventually led to the expulsion of the latter.

In the year 1620, William Lithgow, a Scotch-

man, in the course of his travels on foot over Europe, Asia, and Africa, arrived at Malaga, and being mistaken for a spy attached to the English fleet, which was then at that port, was arrested by the governor, and afterwards sent to the Inquisition. We shall relate his adventures in his own words, not only because the work which he published containing an account of them is now very scarce, but because the style of his narrative may tend to relieve its sickening details.

“Upon the knowledge that I was secretly to be incarcerated in the governor's palace, entered the Mr. Sergeant, and begged my money, and licence to search it; and liberty granted, he found in my pockets eleven phillipoes or ducatoons; and then unclothing me before their eyes, even to my shirt, and searching my breeches, he found in my doublet-neck, fast shut between two canvasses, a hundred and thirty seven double pieces of gold. Whereat the corregidor arose, and, counting my gold, being five hundred and forty eight ducats, he said to the sergeant, ‘Clothe him again, and enclose him there in the cabinet till after supper.’ Meanwhile, the sergeant got the eleven ducatoons of silver; and my gold, which was to take me for Ethiopia, the governor seized upon; giving afterwards two hundred crowns of it to supply the new laid foundation of a Capuchin monastery there, reserving the rest (being three hundred and forty eight ducats,) for his own avaricious ends.

“This done, and midnight come, the sergeant

and two Turkish slaves, releasing me from the inferior room, brought me through certain ascending passages, to a chamber in a sequestered side of the palace, toward the garden, and right above his summer kitchen; where, there and then, the sergeants and the two slaves thrust on every ancle a heavy bolt, my legs being put to a full stride, by a strong gad of iron, far above a yard long; upon the ends of which the two bolts depended that were fastened about my legs; insomuch that I could never sit up, nor walk, nor stand, nor turn me; but lay continually on my back, the irons being thrice heavier than my body.

. . . . They left me with solacious words, and straight returned again with victuals, being a pound of boiled mutton, a wheat bread, and a small pint of wine, which was the first, the best, and the last of this kind, that ever I got in that woeful mansion. The sergeant leaving me, (never seeing him more till a more unwelcomed sight,) he directed the slaves that, after I had contented my discontented appetite, they should lock the door and carry the keys to Areta, a Spaniard, and keeper of the silver plate. . . .

The day following, the governor entered my prison alone, intreating me to confess that I was a spy, and he would be my friend, and procure my pardon; neither in the meantime should I lack any needful thing. But I still attesting my innocence, he wrathfully swore that I should see his face no more, till grievous torments should make me do it; and leaving me in a rage, he observed too well his condition.

"But withal, in my hearing, he commanded Areta that none should come near me, except the

slave, nor no food should be given me but three ounces of musted brown bread, every second day, and a fuleto, or English pint, of water; neither any bed, pillow, or coverlet, to be allowed me. And close up, said he, this window in his room, with lime and stone; stop the holes of the door with double matts, hanging another lock to it; and to withdraw visible and sensible comfort from him, let no tongue nor feet be heard near him, till I have my designs accomplished. And thou, Hazier, I charge thee, at thy incomings to have no conference with him, nor at thy outgoings abroad to discover him to the English factors, as thou wilt answer upon thy life, and the highest torments that can be devised. These directions delivered, and, alas! too accessory to me in the performance, my room was made a dark drawn dungeon, my body the anatomy of merciless hunger, my comfortless hearing the receptacle of sounding bells, my eye wanting light, a loathsome languishing in despair, and my ground-lying body the woeful mirror of misfortunes; every hour wishing another's coming, every day the night, and every night the morning. And now being every second or third day attended with the twinkling of an eye, and my sustenance agreeable to my attendance, my body grew exceeding weak and infirm; insomuch that the governor (after his answers received from Madrid) made haste to put in execution his bloody and merciless purpose before Christmas holy-days; lest, ere the expiring of the twelfth day, I should be utterly famished, and unable to undergo my trial, without present perishing. . . . In the end, by

God's permission, the scourge of my fiery trial approaching, upon the forty-seventh day after my first imprisonment, and five days before Christmas, about two o'clock in the morning, I heard the noise of a coach in the fore street, marvelling much what it might mean. Within a pretty while, I heard the locks of my prison door opening; whereupon, bequeathing my soul to God, I humbly implored his gracious mercy and pardon for my sins; for neither in the former night, nor in this, could I get any sleep, such was the force of gnawing hunger, and the portending heaviness of my presaging soul.

“Meanwhile, the former nine sergeants, accompanied with the scriván, entered the room without speaking a word, and carrying me thence, with irons and all, on their arms, through the house to the street, they laid me on my back in the coach, where two of them sat up beside me; the rest, using great silence, went by the coach side. Then Baptista the coachman, an Indian negro, driving out at the sea gate, the way of the shore side, I was brought westward, almost a league from the town, to a vine-press house, standing alone amongst vineyards, where they enclosed me in a room till daylight; for hither was the rack brought the night before, and privately placed in the end of a trance. And all this secrecy was used, that neither English, French, or Flemings should see, or get any knowledge of my trial, my grievous tortures, and dreadful dispatch, because of their treacherous and cruel proceedings. At the break of day, the governor, Don Francisco, and the alcalde, came forth in another coach; where, when

arrived, and I invited to their presence, I pleaded for a trenchman, being against their law to accuse or condemn a stranger without a sufficient interpreter; the which they absolutely refused; neither would they suffer or grant me an appellation to Madrid. And now, after long and new examinations, from morning till dark night, they finding my first and second confession to run into one, that the governor swore he had learned the art of memory; saying further, Is it possible he can in such distress, and so long a time, observe so strictly in every manner the points of his first confession, and I so often shifting him to and fro?

“Well, the governor’s interrogation and my confession being mutually subscribed, he and Don Francisco besought me earnestly to acknowledge and confess my guiltiness in time; if not, he would deliver me into the alcalde’s hands there present; saying, moreover, ‘Thou art as yet in my power, and I may spare or pardon thee, providing thou wilt confess thyself a spy and a traitor against our nation.’ But finding me stand fast to the mark of my spotless innocency, he, invective and malicious he, after many tremendous threatenings, commanded the scrivani to draw up a warrant for the chief justice; which being done, he set his hand to it, and taking me by the hand, delivered me and the warrant into the alcalde major’s hands, to cause me to be tortured, broken, and cruelly tormented. Whence being carried along on the sergeants’ arms to the end of a trance or stone gallery, where the potaro or rack was placed, the encarnador, or tor-

mentor, began to disburden me of my irons, which being very hard imbolted, he could not unloose the wedges for a long time: whereat the chief justice being offended, the malicious villain, with the hammer he had in his hand, struck away above an inch of my left heel with the bolt; whereupon I grievously groaning, being exceeding faint, and without my three ounces of bread and a little water for three days together, the alcalde said, 'O, traitor, all this is nothing, but the earnest of a greater bargain you have in hand.'

"After this, the alcalde and scriván, being both chair-set, the one to examine, the other to write down my confession and tortures, I was by the executioner stripped to the skin, brought to the rack, and then mounted by him on the top of it; where soon after I was hung by the bare shoulders, with two small cords, which went under both my arms, running on two rings of iron that were fixed to the wall above my head. Thus being hoisted to the appointed height, the tormentor descended below, and drawing down my legs, through the two sides of the three planked rack, he tied a cord about each of my ancles; and then ascending upon the rack, he drew the cords upward, and bending forward with main force my two knees against the two planks, the sinews of my two hams burst asunder, and the lids of my knees being crushed, and the cords made fast, I hung so demained for a large hour. At last, the encarnador informing the governor that I had the mark of Jerusalem on my right arm, joined with the name and crown of King James, and done upon

the holy grave, the corregidor came out of his adjoining stance, and gave direction to tear asunder the name and crown (as he said) of that heretic king, and arch enemy to the holy catholic church. Then the tormentor, laying the right arm above the left, and the crown upmost, did cast a cord over both arms, seven distant times; and then lying down upon his back, and setting both his feet upon my hollow pinched belly, he charged and drew violently with his hands, making my womb support the force of his feet till the seven several cords combined in one place of my arm, (and cutting the crown, sinews, and flesh to the bare bones,) did pull in my fingers close to the palm of my hands; the left hand of which is lame so still, and will be for ever.

“Now mine eyes begun to startle, my mouth to foam and froth, and my teeth to chatter like to the daubing of drumsticks. O, strange inhumanity of monster-men manglers! surpassing the limits of their national law; threescore tortures being the trial of treason, which I had, and was to endure; yet thus to inflict a sevenfold surplusage of more intolerable cruelties: and notwithstanding of my shivering lips in this fiery passion, my vehement groaning, and blood-springing fonts from my arms, broke sinews, hams, and knees, yea, and my depending weight on flesh-cutting cords; yet they struck me on the face with cudgels, to abate and cease the thundering noise of my wrestling voice. At last, being loosed from these pinnacles of pain, I was, hand-fast, set on the floor, with this their incessant imploration, ‘Confess, confess, confess in time, for thine inevi-

table torments ensue;’ where, finding nothing from me but still innocent, ‘O, I am innocent, O Jesus! the Lamb of God, have mercy upon me, and strengthen me with patience to undergo this barbarous murder.’

“Then, by command of the justice, was my trembling body laid above and long, upon the face of the rack, with my head downward, inclosed within a circled hole, my belly upmost, and my heels upward toward the top of the rack; my legs and arms being drawn asunder, were fastened with pins and cords to both sides of the outward planks, for now was I to receive my greatest torments.

“Now, what a potaro or rack is (for it stood by the wall declining downward); it is made of three planks of timber, the upmost end whereof is larger than a full stride; the lower end being narrow, and the three planks joining together, are made conformable to a man’s shoulders; in the downmost end of the middle plank there was a hole, wherein my head was laid. In length, it is longer than a man, being interlaced with small cords from plank to plank, which divided my supported thighs from the middle plank, through the sides of which exterior planks there were three distant holes in every one of them, the use whereof you shall presently hear.

“Now, the alcalde giving commission, the executioner laid fast a cord over the calf of my leg, then another in the middle of my thigh, and the third cord over the great of my arm, which was severally done on both sides of my body, receiving

the ends of the cords from the six several places, through the holes made in the outward planks, which were fastened to pins, and the pins made fast with a device: for he was to charge on the outside of the planks with as many pins as there were holes and cords, the cords being first laid meet to my skin; and on every one of these six parts of my body, I was to receive seven several tortures, each torture consisting of three winding throws of every pin, which amounted to twenty-one throws in every one of those six parts. Then the tormentor, having charged the first passage about my body, (making fast by a device each torture as they were multiplied,) he went to an earthen jar standing full of water, a little beneath my head, from whence, carrying a pot full of water, in the bottom whereof there was an incised hole, which being stopped by his thumb till it came to my mouth, he did pour it in my belly; the measure being a Spanish sombre, which is an English pottle. The first and second services I gladly received, such was the scorching drought of my tormenting pain, and likewise I had drunk none for three days before. But afterward, at the third charge, perceiving these measures of water to be inflicted upon me as tortures, O strangling tortures! I closed my lips, gainstanding that eager crudelity. Whereat the alcalde enraged set my teeth asunder with a pair of iron cadges, detaining them there at every several turn, both mainly and manually; whereupon my hunger-clunged belly waxing great, grew drum-like imbolstered; for it being a suffocating pain, in regard of my head hang-

ing downward, and the water reingorging itself in my throat with a struggling force, it strangled and swallowed up my breath from youling and groaning.

“And now, to prevent my renewing grief, (for presently my heart faileth and forsaketh me,) I will only briefly avouch, that between each one of these seven circular charges I was always re-examined, each examination continuing half an hour, each half hour a hell of infernal pain, and between each torment a long distance of life-quelling time.

“Thus lay I six hours upon the rack, between four o'clock in the afternoon and ten o'clock at night, having had inflicted upon me three score and seven torments. Nevertheless, they continued me a large half hour, after all my tortures, at the full bending; where, my body being all begored with blood, and cut through in every part to the crushed and bruised bones, I pitifully remained, still roaring, howling, foaming, bellowing, and gnashing my teeth, with insupportable cries, before the pains were undone and my body loosed. True it is, it passeth the capacity of man either sensibly to conceive, or I patiently to express, the intolerable anxiety of mind and affliction of body, in that dreadful time I sustained.

“At last, my head being by their arms advanced, and my body taken from the rack, the water regushed abundantly from my mouth; then they, reclothing my broken, bloody, cold, and trembling body, being all this time stark naked, I fell twice in a sounding trance; which they again refreshed with a little wine, and two warm eggs, not done

gow says that the inquisitor made interrogation of what difficulties, errors, or misbelief he had? To which Lithgow replied, that he had none, but was confident in the promises of our Saviour, and believed his revealed will in the Gospel, professed in the reformed catholic church; which being confirmed by grace, he had the infallible assurance in his soul of the true Christian faith. "To these words," continues Lithgow, "he answered, 'Thou art no Christian, but an absurd heretic, and without conversion, a member of perdition.' Whereupon I replied, Reverend sir, the nature of charity and religion do not consist in opprobrious speeches; wherefore, if you would convert me, as you say, convince me by argument; if not, all your threatenings of fire, death, or torments shall not make me shrink from the truth of God's word in sacred scriptures. Whereupon the mad inquisitor clapt me on the face with his foot, abusing me with many railings; and if the Jesuits had not intercepted him, he had stabbed me with a knife; where, when dismissed, I never saw him more." Another interview having had as little effect in inducing the prisoner to confess, he was again doomed to the torture. In his own words, "I was condemned to receive that night eleven strangling torments in my dungeon; and then, after Easter holidays, I should be transported privately to Granada, and there, about midnight, to be burnt body and bones into ashes, and my ashes to be flung into the air. Well, that same night, the scrivani, sergeants, and the young *English* priest entered my melancholy prison, where

the priest, in the English tongue, urging me all he could, though little it was he could do, and not prevailing, I was disburdened of mine irons, unclothed to my skin, set on my knees, and held up fast with their hands; where, instantly setting my teeth asunder with iron cadges, they filled my belly full of water, even gorging to my throat: then with a garter they bound fast my throat, till the white of mine eye turned upward; and being laid on my side, I was by two sergeants tumbled to and fro seven times through the room, till I was almost strangled. This done, they fastened a small cord about each of my great toes, and hoisting me therewith to the roof of a high loft (for the cords ran in two rings fastened above), they cut the garter, and there I hung, with my head downward, in my tormented weight, till all the gushing water dissolved. This done, I was let down from the loft, quite senseless, lying a long time cold dead among their hands; whereof the governor being informed, came running up stairs crying, 'Is he dead? O fie, villains, go fetch me wine;' which they poured in my mouth, regaining thereby a slender spark of breath.

"These strangling torments closed, and I reclothed and fast bolted again, they left me lying on the cold floor, praising my God and singing of a psalm. The next morning, the pitiful Turk visiting me with bread and water, brought me also secretly, in his shirt sleeve, two handful of raisins and figs, laying them on the floor, amongst the crawling vermin; for having no use of arms I was constrained by hunger and impotency of time to lick one up with

another with my tongue. This charity of figs the slave did once every week or fortnight, or else I had long or then famished."

Lithgow was accidentally discovered, and his release effected, by some English factors of Malaga, who, through the instrumentality of the English consul, applied to the king and council of Spain, and obtained the necessary orders to the governor of the place. On leaving his dungeon, Lithgow was received into the house of his friends, and afterwards brought to England in an English ship of war. On his arrival, in 1621, James I. came to see him, and having heard a relation of his sufferings, had him sent to the Spanish ambassador, who promised that restitution should be made of the money and articles which had been taken from him, and compensation given for the bodily injuries he had sustained. These promises, however, appear never to have been fulfilled, and Lithgow, finding himself deceived, insulted (some say, even struck) the ambassador, an act for which he underwent imprisonment in the Marshalsea for many months.*

During the reign of Philip III., the number of the victims of the Inquisition was,—burnt, about

* It has been remarked that had King James been acquainted with Lithgow's incarceration, and been at the same time as courageous and decided as Cromwell, the prisoner would soon have been liberated. Thomas Maynard, English Consul at Lisbon, was imprisoned by the Inquisition, for something said or done against the Roman Catholic religion. Cromwell, being advised of the affair, authorised a resident in Lisbon to demand his release from the King. The King replied that he had no power, as the prisoner was in the hands of the Inquisition, over which

1840; burnt in effigy, 736; subjected to penances, 13,248: total, 15,824.

On the death of Philip III., on the 31st March, 1621, Philip IV. ascended the throne, and reigned 44 years; during which period the following changes in the Inquisitor Generalship occurred: Don Andrea Pacheco entered on the office in 1621, and was succeeded by Cardinal Mendoza in 1626, by Sotomayor in 1632, and by Reinoso in 1643. The latter died on the same day as Philip IV.

This period offers little of interest in the history of the Inquisition, with the exception of the narratives of those who suffered by its persecutions. The abuses of the tribunal, of which so many complaints had been made, remained uncorrected, and the usurpations of which it was guilty, in taking cognisance of crimes unconnected with heresy, were not only tolerated, but approved. One instance of this was, that Philip allowed the Inquisition to punish the offence of exporting copper money, and to appropriate one fourth of all that fell into their hands.

The accession of Philip was celebrated by an *auto da fé*, at Madrid, in 1621, which was followed by several, at Seville, Cordova, another at Madrid,

he had no control. Cromwell, on this answer being returned, sent an express to the King of Portugal, stating, that as his majesty had no power over the Inquisition, he now declared war against it. This act so terrified the King, and the tribunal, that they immediately released Maynard, who, however, very properly refused to leave his prison privately, insisting on being honourably brought forth. Maynard lived a considerable time at Lisbon after this occurrence, but met with no further molestation.

(at which the king and royal family were present,) Valladolid, Toledo, Cuenca, Granada, &c. At these, many were of course burned alive. And it is painful to reflect that the Spaniards had apparently become so familiarised with such scenes as no longer to feel the disgust which must have affected many on their first introduction. At one of these celebrations at Valladolid, a punishment was inflicted on heretical Jews, which appears to have been then for the first time introduced. This was, to nail one hand to a wooden cross; and while in this position, the victims had read to them their sentence of perpetual imprisonment, for having insulted our Saviour and the Virgin by their blasphemies. Many of those who were burned during this reign were women, called "Beatas," who pretended to have seen apparitions, and to have received revelations from above. The inquisitors might have humanely confined them in lunatic asylums, (if such receptacles then existed in Spain,) or have placed them under the care of physicians in the cells of the holy office; but they in their wisdom thought it more for the good of the lunatics that they should be burned, and they were burned accordingly. In a convent of thirty nuns, one of them became mad, and was exorcised by the father confessor. The worthy confessor's efforts seem to have produced an effect directly the reverse of that intended; for, instead of the *one* nun being cured, *twenty five* more, including the abbess, became mad. We are not informed whether this fearful state of things drove *the confessor* out of his senses. but many grave

consultations on the subject were held by the most learned men of the time, who gave it as their opinion that the nuns and the abbess were possessed of the devil. The confessor, therefore, continued his exorcisms, and spent days and nights in the convent without effect, and at length brought the tabernacle of the holy sacrament into the room where the nuns worked. These proceedings, having lasted for three years, were at length put a stop to by the Inquisition of Toledo in 1631, by the arrest of the father confessor (Fray Francis Garcia), the abbess, and several of the nuns. Their trial, which ended in 1633, resulted in the infliction of various penances on the confessor, abbess, and nuns. The confessor was denounced as one of the sect called "Illuminati," and was suspected of having corrupted the nuns, who pretended to be possessed. The abbess was exiled for eight years, and deprived of various privileges; and the nuns were distributed amongst various convents. On the expiry of the eight years, the abbess returned to her convent, and by the interest of powerful relatives, had the matter re-considered by the supreme council of the Inquisition, which now reversed its judgment as regarded *her* innocence, but not as to the innocence of the father confessor; *because he had been so imprudent as to hold a correspondence with the demons, to satisfy his curiosity, before he drove them from the nuns!* The abbess gave an account of her feelings when possessed, and stated that she was in a state of delirium, and did the most foolish things.

The number of victims of the holy office during

this reign of forty-four years may be estimated at,—burnt, 2816; effigies, 1408; penances, 14,080; total, 18,304.

Philip IV. died in 1665, and was succeeded by Charles II., who was then only four years of age. The Inquisitors General during this reign were Cardinal d'Arragon, who was dismissed before he entered on his office; Father John Everard de Nitardo, in 1665; Don Diego de Valladores, in 1668; Don Juan Rocaberti, in 1693; Cardinal Aguilar, who died before entering on his duties; and Don Balthazar Sandoval, in 1699.

The marriage of Charles, in 1680, gave the inquisitors of Madrid an opportunity of celebrating a grand *auto da fé*, in which 118 victims appeared, 19 of whom were burnt; and another was held in the convent of the nuns of St. Dominic, but none of the cases were of so much interest.

The following description of the *auto da fé* celebrated at Lisbon, in 1682, is written by Geddes, whose collection of tracts on Spanish affairs and popery bear a very high character for trustworthiness and accuracy:—

“In the morning of the day, the prisoners are all brought into a great hall, where they have the habits put on they are to wear in the procession, which begins to come out of the Inquisition about nine of the clock in the morning. The first in the procession are the Dominican friars, who carry the standard of the Inquisition, which on the one side hath their founder Dominic's picture, and on the other side a cross between an olive tree and a sword,

with this motto, *Justitia et Misericordia*. Next after the Dominicans come the penitents, some with *benitos*, some without, according to the nature of their crimes; they are all in black coats without sleeves, and barefooted, with a wax candle in their hand. Next come the penitents, who have narrowly escaped being burnt, who over their black coat have flames painted, with their points turned downward, to signify their having been saved, but so as by fire; this habit is called by the Portuguese *fuego revolto*, or flames turned upside down. Next come the negative and relapsed, that are to be burnt, with flames upon their habit, pointing upward; and next come those who profess doctrines contrary to the faith of the Roman church, and who, besides flames on their habit pointing upwards, have their picture, which is drawn two or three days before, upon their breasts, with dogs, serpents, and devils, all with open mouths, painted upon it. Pegna, a famous Spanish inquisitor, calls this procession *horrendum ac tremendum spectaculum*; and so it is in truth, there being something in the looks of all the prisoners, besides those that are to be burnt, that is ghastly and disconsolate, beyond what can be imagined; and in the eyes and countenance of those that are to be burnt, there is something that looks fierce and eager.

“The prisoners that are to be burnt alive, besides a familiar, which all the rest have, have a Jesuit on each hand of them, who are continually preaching to them to abjure their heresies; but if they offer to speak anything in defence of the doc-

trines they are going to suffer death for professing, they are immediately gagged, and not suffered to speak a word more. This I saw done to a prisoner presently after he came out of the gates of the Inquisition, upon his having looked up to the sun, which he had not seen before in several years, and cried out in a rapture, 'How is it possible for people to behold that glorious body, to worship any being but Him that created it?' After the prisoners come a troop of familiars on horseback, and after them the inquisitors, and other officers of the court, upon mules; and last of all comes the Inquisitor General, upon a white horse led by two men, with a black hat and a green hat band, and attended by all the nobles that are not employed as familiars in the procession.

"In the *Terreiro de Paco*, which may be as far from the Inquisition as Whitehall is from Temple Bar, there is a scaffold erected, which may hold two or three thousand people; at the one end sit the inquisitors, and at the other end the prisoners, and in the same order as they walked in the procession, those that are to be burnt being seated on the highest benches behind the rest, and which may be ten feet above the floor of the scaffold. After some prayers, and a sermon, which is made up of encomiums on the Inquisition, and invectives against heretics, a secular priest ascends a desk, which stands near the middle of the scaffold, and who, having first taken all the abjurations of the penitents, who kneel before him, one by one, in the same order *they walked in the procession*; at last he recites the

final sentence of the Inquisition upon those who are to be put to death, in the words following :—

“‘We, the inquisitors of heretical pravity, having, with the concurrence of the most illustrious N, Lord Archbishop of Lisbon, or of his deputy, N, called on the name of his Lord Jesus Christ, and of his glorious mother, the Virgin Mary, and sitting on our tribunal and judging, with the Holy Gospels lying before us, that so our judgment might be in the sight of God, and our eyes might behold what is just in all matters between the magnific Doctor N, advocate fiscal, on the one part, and you, N, now before us, on the other; we have ordained that in this place, and on this day, you should receive your definitive sentence. We do therefore, by this our sentence put in writing, define, pronounce, declare, and sentence thee, N, of the city of Lisbon, to be a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and professed heretic, and to be delivered and left by us as such to the secular arm, and we by this our sentence do cast thee out of the ecclesiastical court, as a convicted, confessing, affirmative, and professed heretic, and we do leave and deliver thee to the secular arm, and to the power of the secular court, but at the same time do most earnestly beseech that court so to moderate its sentence as not to touch thy blood, or to put thy life in any danger.’

“Is there in all history an instance of so gross and confident a mockery of God and the world as this of the inquisitors, earnestly beseeching the civil magistrates not to put the heretic they have condemned and delivered to them to death? For were

they in earnest when they make their solemn petition to the secular magistrates, why do they bring their prisoners out of the Inquisition and deliver them to those magistrates, in coats painted over with flames? Why do they teach that all heretics, above all other malefactors, ought to be punished with death? and why do they never resent the secular magistrates having so little regard to their earnest and joint petition as never to fail to burn all the heretics which are delivered to them by the Inquisition, within an hour or two after they have them in their hands? And why in Rome, where the supreme civil and ecclesiastical authority are lodged in the same person, is this petition of the Inquisition, which is made there as well as in other places, never granted? Certainly, not to take any notice of the old canon, which forbids the clergy to have any hand in the blood of any person whatsoever, would be a much less dishonour to the Inquisition, than to pretend to go on observing that canon, by making a petition which is known to be so contrary to their principles and desires.

“The prisoners are no sooner in the hands of the civil magistrate than they are loaded with chains, and before the eyes of the inquisitors; and, being carried first to the secular gaols, are within an hour or two brought from thence before the lord chief justice, who, without knowing anything of their particular crimes, or of the evidence that was against them, asks them, one by one, *In what religion do they intend to die?* If they answer that they will die in the communion of the Roman church, they

are condemned by him *to be carried forthwith to the place of execution, and there to be first strangled, and then burnt to ashes.* But if they say that they will die in the Protestant or any other faith that is contrary to the Roman, they are sentenced by him *to be carried to the place of execution, and there to be burnt alive.* At the place of execution, which at Lisbon is the Ribera, there are so many stakes set up as there are prisoners to be burnt, with a good quantity of dry furze about them. The stakes of *the professed*, as the inquisitors call them, may be about four yards high, and have a small board whereon the prisoner is to be seated, within half a yard of their top. The negative and relapsed being first strangled and burnt, the professed go up a ladder between the two Jesuits who have attended them all day, and when they are come even with the forementioned board, they turn about to the people, and the Jesuits do spend near a quarter of an hour in exhorting the professed to be reconciled to the church of Rome; which if the professed refuse to be, the Jesuits come down and the executioner ascends, and, having turned the professed off the ladder upon the seat, and chained their bodies close to the stake, he leaves them, and the Jesuits go up to them a second time, to renew their exhortation to them, and at parting tell them that they leave them to the devil, who is standing at their elbow to receive their souls, and carry them with him into the flames of hell fire, so soon as they are out of their bodies. Upon this a great shout is raised, and as soon as the Jesuits are off the ladder, the

cry is, *Let the dogs' beards be made! let the dogs' beards be made!* which is done by thrusting of flaming furzes, fastened to a long pole, against their faces; and this inhumanity is commonly continued until their faces are burned to a coal, and is always accompanied with such acclamations of joy as are not to be heard on any other occasion,—a bull fight or a farce being but dull entertainments to the using of a professed heretic thus inhumanly.

“The beards of the professed having been thus made, as they call it in jollity, fire is set to the furze which is at the bottom of the stake, and above which the professed are chained so high, that the top of the flame seldom reacheth higher than the seat they sit upon; and if there happen to be a wind, and to which that place is much exposed, it seldom reacheth so high as their knees; so that though there be a calm, the professed are commonly dead in half an hour after the furze is set on fire; yet, if the weather prove windy, they are not after that dead in an hour and a half, or two hours, and and so are really roasted, and not burnt to death. But though out of hell there cannot be a more lamentable spectacle than this, being joined with the sufferers, so long as they are able to speak, crying out, *Misericordia, por amos de Dios, (Mercy, for the love of God,)* yet it is beheld by people of both sexes and of all ages with such transports of joy and satisfaction, as are not on any other occasion to be met with. And that the reader may not think that this inhuman joy may be the effect of a natural cruelty that is in those people's disposition, and not of the spirit of their religion, he may rest assured

that all public malefactors, besides heretics, have their violent deaths nowhere more tenderly lamented than among the same people, and even when there is nothing in the manner of their deaths that appears inhuman or cruel.

“Within a few days after the execution, the pictures of all that have been burnt, and which were taken off their breast when they were brought to the stake, are hung up in St. Domingo’s Church, whose west end, though very high, is all covered over with such trophies of the Inquisition, hung up there in honour to Dominic, who, to fulfil his mother’s dream, was the first inventor of that court. Dominic’s mother, when she was about to be delivered, having dreamed that she was delivered not of a human creature, but of a fierce dog, with a burning torch in his mouth!”

Lest it should be imagined that Geddes’s description of the ceremony is exaggerated, we subjoin a portion of a letter, written by Mr. Wilcox (afterwards Bishop of Rochester), minister to the English factory at Lisbon, to Gilbert Burnet, the historian of the Reformation, and dated June 15, 1706.

“My lord; in obedience to your lordship’s commands of the 10th ult., I have here sent all that was printed concerning the last *auto da fé*. I saw the whole process, which is agreeable to what is published by Limborch and others upon that subject. Of the five persons condemned, there were but four burnt; Antonio Tavares, by an unusual reprieve, being saved after the procession. Heytor Dias and Maria Pinteyra, were burnt alive, and the other two first strangled. The execution was very cruel.

The woman was alive in the flames half an hour, and the man above an hour. The present king and his brothers were seated at a window so near as to be addressed for a considerable time in very moving terms by the man as he was burning. But though the favour he begged was only a few more faggots, yet he was not able to obtain it. Those which are burnt alive here are seated on a bench twelve feet high, fastened to a pole, and above six feet higher than the faggots. The wind being a little fresh, the man's hinder parts were perfectly wasted; and as he turned himself, his ribs opened before he left speaking, the fire being recruited as it wasted, to keep him just in the same degree of heat. But all his entreaties could not procure him a larger allowance of wood, to shorten his misery and despatch him."

To these accounts of the manner in which males were treated at the commencement of the eighteenth century, we may not inappropriately append a narrative of the cruelties inflicted on a female.

Elizabeth Vasconcellos was born in Arlington, in the county of Devon, and was the daughter of John Cheffer, Esq. She was brought up at home in the doctrines of the Protestant church till her eleventh year, when her uncle, who intended to go to Jamaica and settle there as a surgeon, requested her father to let her go with him, and he would provide for her. Her father, having several other children to provide for, consented; and they embarked on board an English merchant ship, in 1685. On *nearing* Madeira, the vessel was attacked by two

Turkish ships, and a sharp engagement ensued, in which many of the English were killed, and among the rest, her uncle. The Turks were beaten off, and the vessel arrived at Madeira, where, being left totally destitute by the death of her uncle, she applied to the English residents, by whom she was kindly received. She lived for a number of years as a servant in several families, and in 1696 she was married, by the chaplain of an English man-of-war, to Manuel Cordova de Vasconcellos, a physician of the island. With him she lived eight years without forsaking the faith in which she had been educated, and without conforming in the least to the Romish faith. But in 1704, while her husband was in the Brazils on business, she was taken dangerously ill, and lost her consciousness for a time; and when she recovered, she was informed that she had changed her religion; that, during her illness, the parish priest had called on her, and administered the sacrament according to the forms of the Romish church, and she was now desired to attach herself to it. Being a woman of spirit, she declared that she had never changed her religion, nor would she; that the ceremony which was alleged to have taken place was entirely without her knowledge, and therefore null and void. Upon this declaration she was imprisoned by the bishop of the island for seven months, and was prosecuted for holding heretical opinions. At the end of that term, she was sent a prisoner to the Inquisition at Lisbon, where she arrived in December, 1705. Two days after her arrival, she was carried ashore, and was conducted

by two familiars to the prisons of the holy office, and was immediately brought before the secretary of the tribunal, who took an account of her effects, which, in plate, goods, and money, she valued at upwards of £500 sterling. This being done, two women were ordered to search her, and these took from her her rings and other articles of value which she carried about her person. She then was ordered to swear that these were all she was worth in the world; and, her audience being finished, she was conducted to her cell, which was a very small, dark room on the ground floor, about five feet square. Here she was kept for nine months and fifteen days. For the first nine days they allowed her nothing but bread and water, and a wet straw bed to lie upon. On the ninth day she was called before the inquisitors, and examined respecting her religion. She said that she had been bred a protestant, and would continue so; but they replied that she had conformed herself to the Romish faith, by receiving the sacrament, and that she must either persist in it or burn. After this she was ordered back to her prison. In a month's time she was again brought before her judges, and being questioned, and having replied in the same manner as before, the officials stripped her back, and lashed her with a whip of knotted cords for a considerable time, telling her afterwards that she must kneel down to the court, and give thanks for their merciful usage of her; but this she positively refused to do. Fifteen days more having elapsed, she was again brought to audience, and a crucifix being set before her, she was commanded to bow down and worship it, which she refus-

ing to do, she was told that she must expect to be condemned to the flames, and burnt with the Jews at the next *auto da fè*. She was then re-conducted to her prison, and remained there for about thirty days, at the expiration of which time she was called before her judges, and a red hot iron was got ready, and was brought in a chafing dish of burning coals into the apartment. Her breast being laid bare, the executioner with one end of the red hot iron, (which was about the size of a large seal,) burnt her to the bone in three different places on the right side, and she was sent to her cell without any application to heal the sores. A month afterwards she had another severe whipping, as before. At a subsequent audience she was brought before a large number of inquisitors, and was asked whether she would profess the Romish faith, or burn. She replied that she was a protestant, and a subject of the Queen of England, who was able, and no doubt willing, to protect her, as were all the English residents of Lisbon; but as they knew nothing of her condition, and therefore could not then assist her, her resolution was to continue a protestant, even if she were burnt for it. To this, one of the inquisitors answered, that her being the Queen of England's subject signified nothing in the dominions of the King of Portugal; that the English residing at Lisbon were heretics, and would certainly be damned; and that the mercy of the tribunal was extended to endeavour to rescue her from the flames of hell. But if her resolution was to burn rather than profess the Romish religion, they would give her a trial of it beforehand. Accordingly, the executioner was

ordered to seat her in a fixed chair, and so to bind her arms and legs as to prevent any resistance, or even motion. A physician being placed near her, to direct the court how far they might torture without hazard to her life, her left foot was made bare, and an iron slipper, red hot, being immediately brought in, her foot was fastened into it, and remained there till the flesh was burnt away to the bone. The extremity of the pain caused her to faint away, and the physician then declaring that her life was in danger, the slipper was removed, and she was conveyed to her dungeon. After the lapse of some time, she was again whipped, so cruelly that her back was torn all over; and she was threatened with more severe treatment if she did not at once embrace the Romish faith. On the other hand, she was promised liberty if she would change her religion, and sign a paper which they would give her; and as she was quite unable to endure a continuation of such a life of misery, she consented, and wrote her name at the bottom of a paper containing she knew not what. After which, her judges advised her to eschew the company of all English heretics, and dismissed her in a most destitute condition, without returning her any of the plate, goods, or money, which they had taken from her; a state of poverty from which she was relieved by the charitable contributions of some residents in Lisbon.

In consequence of many attempts having been made by the officers of the Inquisition to overstep

the very extensive powers which they exercised, Charles appointed a committee, to investigate the complaints which had been made. The committee consisted of two members of each of the councils of Castile, Arragon, Italy, the Indies, the military orders and the finance, and one of the king's secretaries. On their being assembled, the secretary informed them that the disputes between the officers of the Inquisition and the civil judges had caused so much inconvenience and disturbance, that the king requested this assembly to propose a plain and fixed rule, which would secure all due respect to the holy office, and at the same time prevent the inquisitors undertaking trials foreign to their jurisdiction; and in order that they might have every facility for prosecuting this inquiry, the king had commanded the six councils to remit to the assembly all papers that might relate to the matter.

In May, 1696, the junta made a report, to the following effect: "In all parts of your majesty's dominions in which this tribunal has been established, it has always strenuously laboured to augment its own powers, at the expense of every other jurisdiction, as if particularly intent on leaving nothing to the royal justice, or to those charged with its administration. There is no subject, however foreign to the principles of the institution, upon which the inquisitors do not take upon them to decide, usurping and exercising this power even upon occasions the most trivial. Every individual, however independent of their authority, is treated as an abject vassal, being

subjected not only to their orders, but to their several penalties and persecutions,—to imprisonment, tortures, death, and infamy. Nor are these penalties confined only to extraordinary offences. The most trifling slight, the most inadvertent, unintentional neglect, shewn to any of its menial servants, is deemed an offence against the holy brotherhood, and punished accordingly. Nor does the mischief end here; the inquisitors not only attach extraordinary privileges to themselves and their own houses, but they extend them to the houses of their dependents and servants, by which these are converted into so many asylums for criminals, who have only to fly thither to be effectually screened from justice. And it is further notorious, that whenever your majesty's subjects commence even the most ordinary processes against offenders of this description, the Inquisition never fails to secure them under its extensive wings, and to thunder out the heaviest denunciations against those whose duty it is to pursue and bring them to justice." For the reformation of these abuses, and others which were mentioned in the course of the report, the junta recommended: 1st. That the Inquisition should not make use of censures in civil affairs. 2nd. That in case they employed them, the royal tribunals should be charged to oppose them by the means in their power. 3rd. That the privileges of the inquisitorial jurisdiction should be limited, as regarded the ministers and familiars of the Inquisition, and the relations of the inquisitors. 4th. That measures should be adopted to ensure *the immediate settlement of affairs relating to com-*

petence and mutual pretensions. One of the councillors of state, the Count de Frigiliana, added to these recommendations one, that the officers of the Inquisition should be compelled to give an account of the finances and property of the holy office. This request he made, in consequence of the holy office having refused, when he was viceroy, to render him such an account.

This report of the junta was so very strong, and shewed so clearly the necessity of immediate reform, that Charles would probably have accepted the suggestions embodied in it, had not the Inquisitor General and his subordinates ascertained the nature of the report, and used their influence with the kings' confessor, who persuaded him not to make any alterations, at the same time promising, on behalf of the holy office, that he should hear no further complaints of it. The imbecile monarch gave way, and the tribunal of the Inquisition remained without diminution of its privileges, though they had been so nearly abolished as to induce its officers to exercise them less frequently during the remainder of Charles's reign.

The number of victims, during this reign of thirty-five years, was, burnt, 1728; burnt in effigy, 576; penances, 6912. Total, 9216.

On the death of Charles II., in 1700, the throne was ascended by his nephew, Philip V., a monarch who, with all his weakness and faults, was an able and firm king, when compared with his uncle and predecessor. Charles was vacillating, and weak as a child. Instead of ruling the nation himself, he

allowed it to be governed by his courtiers, few of whom were able men; and, as might have been anticipated, they brought Spain to a state of great poverty and degradation. Philip V., on the other hand, participating as he did in the weakness of Charles, though not to the same extent, had the prosperity of his kingdom sincerely at heart, and laboured with some success to improve its condition, in spite of the depression which he must have felt at its previous prostration, and in spite also of his own natural indolence of character. He left the country in a better condition than that in which he found it; and although he might undoubtedly have, to a greater extent, checked the iniquities practised by the officers of the Inquisition, it is to his credit that he did something towards so desirable an object, and that, by his attention to literature and science, he improved the minds of his subjects, and enabled them more clearly to see the conduct of the holy office in its true light.

The Inquisitors General during the reign of Philip were, Don Balthazar Sandoval, who was appointed by Charles II., Don Vidal Marin in 1703, Don Antonio Herrera in 1707, Cardinal Judice in 1709, Don Joseph de Molinos in 1715, Don Juan de Armazendi, who died before entering on his office, Don Diego Céspedes in 1717, Don Juan de Camargo in 1719, Don Andrea Larrategui in 1732, Don Manuel de Lara in 1739, and Don Francis Cuesta, who was appointed about 1743, and appears to have held the office after the death of Philip.

As had latterly become the custom, the inquisi-

tors celebrated the accession of the new king by an *auto da fé*, at which, however, he declined being present. One *auto da fé*, at least, during each year of this reign, was held by every tribunal; some held two annually, some three; and Llorente states, that, excluding the tribunals of America, Sardinia, and Sicily, the number of *autos* celebrated during this period, at Madrid, Barcelona, the Canaries, Cordova, Cuenca, Granada, Jaen, Llerena, Logrona, Majorca, Murcia, Santiago, Seville, Toledo, Valencia, Valladolid, and Saragossa, was 782.

Among the victims who suffered were many disciples of Molinos. Of these, one was Donna Agneda, a nun in a convent at Lerma, who obtained such a reputation for sanctity and virtue, that a convent was built at the place of her birth, and she was installed as prioress. Here her character became still more celebrated, until, we are assured, "the inhabitants of all the neighbouring countries repaired to her, to implore her intercession with God!" Some, however, believing that she was addicted to improper practices, and that her sanctity was only a cloak to hide their perpetration, denounced her to the holy office, and she was arrested by the tribunal of Logrona. Being taken to the secret prisons, she died before the conclusion of her trial, in consequence of the severity with which the torture was applied, but not before she had confessed that her sanctity was an imposture. Her denouncers accused her of having made a compact with the devil, and of infanticide; and some reason was shewn for the latter charge, if none for

the former, by some bones being actually found in a place where it was asserted that she had murdered and buried her children. Fray Juan de la Vega was charged with being an accomplice of Agneda. He was her spiritual director, and it was stated on the trial, that he had seduced not only her, but several of the nuns. He also was accused of having made a compact with the devil; but he denied it, and although he was advanced in years, he resisted the torture. He confessed, however, that he had received payment for 11,800 masses which he had not said. He was declared to be suspected in the highest degree, and was sent to the convent Duruelo, where he died shortly after. The nuns, being found guilty of participation in these transactions, were distributed among a number of other convents.

The Inquisitor General, Sandoval, had, during the reign of Charles II., instituted proceedings in the tribunal against Diaz, Bishop of Avila, alleging that he had made use of demons to discover hidden things. His motive, however, was personal pique, and when he had laid the declaration before five qualifiers, they delivered their opinion, (although they were devoted to the Inquisitor General, and were ordinarily his tools,) that there was no fact or proposition in them worthy of censure. Sandoval was displeased at this decision, and proposed to the council that Diaz should be arrested; but they refused to sanction the proceeding, inasmuch as an arrest under such circumstances would have been a flagrant breach of the laws of the holy office. The *Inquisitor General*, being now very much irritated,

drew up a decree for the arrest of Diaz, signed it, and then sent it to the council, with an order to register it; an order which they refused to obey, as the resolution for the arrest of Diaz had not been adopted by a majority of the council. Diaz having in the mean time made his escape to Rome, the Inquisitor General, by means of the king's confessor, on whom he could depend, managed to convince the king that the offence with which Diaz had been charged was one against the crown; and Charles actually gave his ambassador at Rome orders to seize Diaz, and send him under escort to Carthage. On his arrest being effected, the Inquisitor General sent the prisoner to the dungeons of the Inquisition of Murcia, and commanded the inquisitors to commence his trial. These appointed nine qualifiers, men of great learning, who unanimously qualified the propositions as before, and the inquisitors declared that there was no cause for the arrest. The Inquisitor General then had him transferred to Madrid, where he had him accused of being an arch-heretic, because he had said that an intercourse with a demon might be permitted, in order to learn the art of curing the sick. Philip, as soon after his accession as other matters permitted, submitted the case to the council of Castile, who decided that the arrest of Diaz was contrary to the common law, as well as to the laws governing the holy office; and the supreme council then decided that Diaz should be set at liberty.

On this decision being published and carried into effect, Sandoval formed the bold design of

depriving the council of the power of thwarting his wishes. He ordered the arrest of the three councillors who had been most systematic in their opposition to him ; and, making a false representation of the circumstances to the king, requested their dismissal from the council, and in the meantime sent them in chains to Santiago de Granada. This bold act roused Philip, who submitted the case to the Council of Castile, and their report, which was rendered in a month, proposed, "that the Supreme Council should be re-established in the possession of the privileges it had enjoyed since the foundation of the Inquisition, and that the three members should be restored to their offices." The king acted on these recommendations, and at the same time commanded Sandoval to give in his resignation, and leave Madrid. Sandoval appealed to the Pope, who wrote Philip a remonstrance, on his treatment of one of his (the Pope's) delegates. But Philip was resolute, and compelled Sandoval to give way.

On one occasion Philip complained to the Inquisition of a decree of Cardinal Judice, prohibiting the works of Macanaz, some of which Philip had read and approved. The reply of the supreme council was full of hardihood, being to the effect that "he might *suppress* the holy office if he thought proper ; but that, according to the apostolic bulls, he could not prevent its exercising its office *while it continued in existence.*" There is very little doubt that this reply would have secured the suppression of the Inquisition, for the Council of Castile in the same year (1714) advised its abolition, and the ordinance

was actually prepared; but the queen, Isabella Farnese, her confessor, Daubenton, and Cardinal Alberoni diverted him from his purpose, by misrepresenting the conduct of Macanaz; and they obtained from Philip a counter-ordinance, in which he acknowledged "that he had paid too much attention to the evil advice of perfidious ministers, and that he approves the prohibition of the works of Macanaz, as favourable to the rights of the crown, and approves the conduct of Cardinal Judice."

At the same time with the writings of Macanaz, the works of Barclay and Talon, both of whom sought to defend the rights of the crown against the pretensions of the Pope, were denounced; and Philip was weak enough on this occasion to sanction a prohibition so much affecting his own powers.

During Philip's reign of forty-six years, the number of those burnt by the tribunal was 1504; burnt in effigy, 728; penances, 8736. Total, 10,968.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN this chapter we shall relate some narratives of the period we have been treating of. The first relates to the Inquisition of Goa.

M. Dellon, a French physician, who was travelling in the East Indies about the year 1673, was confined in it. He was residing at Damuan, a town in the East Indies in the possession of the Portuguese, and in the course of conversation on religious subjects, with ecclesiastics and others, gave expression to opinions far too liberal for their minds. He was therefore denounced to the Inquisition, but suspecting that such was the case, he anticipated the process which would no doubt have issued against him, by calling on the commissary and accusing himself, offering to amend if the commissary would kindly point out wherein he had erred. Being known to the commissary, he was treated kindly, and he anticipated that nothing more would be heard of the matter. He was, however, in the habit of visiting a lady, who was beloved by the Governor of Damuan, (and who loved him in return,) as well as by a black priest, the secretary of the holy office. These, being jealous of his attentions to the lady, so exerted their influence with the *inquisitors* as to cause Dellon to be arrested, and

confined in the prison of Damuan. He was totally unconscious of the charge against him, nor did he suspect the real cause of his imprisonment, for the governor pretended the most sincere friendship for him, and offered him assistance in any way in which it could be afforded. Dellon made application after application to the inquisitors for his trial or release, but he could not obtain any redress. The fact was that an *auto da fé* was about to be celebrated, and if Dellon's trial was at once proceeded with, he would probably be sentenced to some slight penances, and have to appear in the *auto*, after which he would be released. But this was not what his enemies wanted. He must be confined until the celebration of the *auto*, so that he could not then be released till the next one, which would not be held for three months at least. This was accordingly done, and it was not till after the celebration was over that he was taken from the prison of Damuan, (where he and his fellow prisoners were confined in a damp, loathsome apartment, where there were no conveniences, and which was filled with vermin,) and taken in irons on board a galley, which carried him to Goa. On his arrival, he was conveyed to the Inquisition, which he thus describes:—"The Palace of the Inquisition, called by the Portuguese '*Santa Casa*,' or the *Holy House*, is situated on one side of the great square, opposite to the cathedral dedicated to St. Catherine. It is extensive and magnificent; in the front are three entrances, of which the centre is the largest, and opens upon the grand staircase ascending to the hall. The two other portals seve-

rally lead to the apartments of the inquisitors, which are sufficiently commodious for considerable establishments. Within are various apartments, for the officers of the house; and passing through the interior, there is a vast edifice, divided into distinct masses or squares of buildings, of two stories each, separated by small courts. In each story is a gallery, resembling a dormitory, containing seven or eight small chambers, ten feet square, the whole number of which is about two hundred. In one of these dormitories the cells are dark, being without windows, and smaller and lower than the rest; as I had occasion to know, from the circumstance of having been taken to see them, on complaining that I was too rigorously treated, in order to satisfy me that I might fare worse. The rest of the cells are square, vaulted, whitewashed, clean, and lighted by a small grated and open window, placed at a height above the reach of the tallest man. All the walls are five feet thick. Every chamber is secured by two doors, one opening inwards and the other without; the inner door is made in two divisions, is strong, well fitted, and opened by the lower half, in the manner of a grate; in the upper part there is a little window, through which the prisoners receive their food, linen, and such other necessary articles as can be so conveyed. There is a door to this opening, guarded by strong bolts. The outer door is neither so thick nor so strong as the other, but it is entire, and without any aperture. It is usually left open from six o'clock in the morning till eleven, in order to venti-

late the chamber through the crevices of the inner door."

On entering the building, Dellon had his irons struck off, and was conducted to the audience chamber. This apartment was adorned with tapestry, and had at one end a crucifix, reaching to the ceiling. In the center of the room was a platform, on which a table was placed; the only persons present were the Inquisitor, the Secretary, and Dellon. The prisoner, on entering, threw himself at the feet of the Inquisitor, designing to excite his pity, but he was coldly desired to be seated, and was questioned as to his name and profession, which having replied to, he was asked if he knew the cause of his arrest. Dellon replied that he believed he did, and would inform the Inquisitor of it; but the latter told him there was no hurry; he had other matters of greater importance to attend to, and would let him know when he was at leisure. Dellon was then removed to a cell, previous to entering which, however, his chest was brought him, and an inventory taken of all his property, he being informed, at the same time, that on his release every thing would be returned him. This promise, of course, was not kept, and Dellon wondered of what use the inventory might be. He was deprived of everything about his person, except his clothes, and a few pieces of gold which he had concealed, by previously sewing it into one of his garters. He was then confined in his cell, and was denied the use of books, or any other means of amusement. He was, however, well

treated, as regarded food and cleanliness; and as the guards were all day long in the galleries from which the cells opened, and even slept there, he had only to knock at the door of his cell when he required anything.

A second audience was granted only after the lapse of a considerable time. Dellon was again conducted, with his head, legs, and feet naked, to the audience chamber, where he again found the Inquisitor and Secretary. He was sworn to tell the truth, as well as to preserve secrecy, and was then recommended to confess his errors. He made a confession of all that he had said which might be against the faith; omitting, however, from want of recollection, some expressions he had once used as to the holy office. Not having confessed all that was expected, he had his confession written down, and, having signed it, he was remanded to his cell. Two other audiences were granted him, without leading to the expected release, and the unhappy prisoner now went so far as to attempt suicide by starvation. He then recollected his expressions respecting the holy office, which he had previously forgotten, and demanded another audience, that he might acknowledge them. This was not granted for some time, and when he made the confession, it was not what the inquisitor required, and he was again sent back to his prison. Despair now possessed him, and he tried suicide in a variety of ways. He feigned illness, and a black doctor came and bled him. In the absence of the doctor, he tore off his *bandages* and allowed the blood to flow, till he was

almost at death's door. He then repented, acknowledged to a confessor what he had done, and gradually recovered. Being seized with a third fit, he broke one of the pieces of gold which he had secreted, and having sharpened it, he tried to open his arteries, that he might bleed to death. He lost a great deal of blood, but not sufficient to effect his purpose. To prevent his again attempting to destroy himself, his arms and legs were manacled, and a collar placed on his neck, so that he could not use his arms. His despair prompted him to dash his head against the ground, until he was prevented by the guards, who found that kindness and persuasion would do more to calm him than coercion. They accordingly consoled him with the prospect of a speedy release, and he made no more attempts upon himself.

He was in anxious expectation of an *auto da fé*, but a considerable time passed without his wishes being fulfilled. At length, one night, he was roused by the officers, who entered his cell, bearing lights, and ordered him to put on a garment which they brought him. On his being dressed, he left his cell, and joined a large number of other prisoners who were assembled in the galleries, to the number of about 200, all ranged with their backs to the walls, their eyes being all they were allowed to use. They were all habited in black vestments, which gave the assemblage a most sombre and melancholy appearance. The majority were coloured persons, but amongst them were about a dozen white men. The females were ranged in an adjoining gallery, where

they could not be seen by the males; and in a cell were a few male prisoners, with men walking backwards and forwards addressing them. The first were those condemned to be burnt; the moving figures were the confessors. The *san benitos* and paste-board hats were then brought in, and distributed. They were constructed and painted in the manner we have already described. A yellow wax light was given to each prisoner, and the whole were allowed to sit until the commencement of the procession. Bread and figs were distributed, and Dellon was somewhat comforted when, on refusing these, on the ground that he was not hungry, he was told that he had better take them and put them in his pocket, for that if he was not then inclined to eat, he assuredly would be before he returned to his cell: from which he inferred that he was not one of those condemned to be burnt.

About sunrise, the great bell of the cathedral was tolled, to summon the inhabitants to take part in the *auto da fé*, and the prisoners were marched one by one through the hall, where the inquisitor and secretary were stationed. The hall was filled with inhabitants of Goa, whose names were entered in a book in the hands of the secretary; and as each prisoner passed through the hall, the secretary called out the name of an inhabitant, who stepped forward and acted as "*godfather*" to the prisoner, during the proceedings of the day, and was responsible for the safe custody of his person. The procession was headed by the Dominicans, because their patron, *St. Dominic*, was the founder of the Inquisition;

and the least guilty (of whom Dellon was one,) marched first, those more guilty following, each holding a taper, and accompanied by his godfather. The procession moved through the principal streets of Goa, in the presence of an immense concourse of people, drawn from all parts of India by the attractions of the *auto da fé*. At length it arrived at the church of St. Francis, which had been fitted up for the occasion. The high altar was covered with black cloth, and six white wax tapers were burning on it. Two seats resembling thrones were erected on opposite sides of the altar, one being for the inquisitor and his council, the other for the viceroy and his court. At some distance from the high altar, was another altar, on which were laid ten missals; on these the penitents were to abjure their heresies. From this point to the door, along the middle of the church, there was a passage of about three feet wide railed in, and within this were seats placed on each side, and the prisoners and their godfathers sat down in the order in which they entered the church. Those condemned to be burnt marched last, and *before* them, and *behind* those less guilty, a crucifix was carried, the face of which was towards the penitents, while the back was towards the condemned. This was intended to signify that mercy had been extended to those who had gone before, but that none was to be expected by those who followed. In the neighbourhood of this crucifix were four effigies of dead persons, accurately executed, and the same number of boxes containing the bones of these persons, or of some others who had been buried in the

same grave. These were to be burnt, indicating that the persons who were represented had been tried after they had gone to their graves. The inquisitor and the viceroy, with their respective suites, having taken possession of their thrones, the church was filled by the crowd, and the provincial of the Augustines preached for half an hour. Two readers then entered the pulpit, and read the sentences to which the various prisoners had been condemned. While the sentence of each prisoner was being read, he was led into the middle of the aisle; and on its conclusion he was taken to the altar, and placed in a kneeling posture, with his hands on one of the missals. When as many prisoners as there were missals had assembled at the altar, the reading of the sentences was suspended, and the reader pronounced a confession of faith, which they were ordered to repeat with heart and voice. They were then reconducted to their places, and the reading of the sentences recommenced.

Dellon himself was charged with having denied the efficacy of baptism, with having asserted that images ought not to be worshiped, and with having spoken against the Inquisition and its ministers. He was sentenced to excommunication, to forfeiture of goods, to banishment from the Indies, to service in the Portuguese galleys for five years, and to such penances as the Inquisition might think fit to impose. When the sentences had been read, those who had incurred excommunication were released from it by the priests striking the clothes of the prisoners with a wand. Dellon mentions an instance of the super-

stition which governed those who were present at this ceremony. His godfather on this occasion was the general of the Portuguese ships in the Indies, and this person during the ceremony would not speak to him, nor give him a pinch of snuff which he requested, so fearful was he of the excommunication extending itself to him; but as soon as absolution had been granted, the general embraced him, presented his snuff box, and said that as the church had absolved him, he should regard him as a brother!

The inquisitor being now resealed, those who were to be burnt were brought forward separately. They were a black man and woman, native Christians, accused of sorcery. The four effigies and boxes of bones were also brought more into view. The individuals whom two of these effigies resembled were said to be guilty of magic; of the other two, one had died in the holy office; the other had died in his own house, and the body had long been interred in the church-yard, but as it was found that he had left property of very considerable value, the inquisitors thought that his bones ought not to be allowed to rest. They were accordingly disinterred, and were now to be burnt, he having been tried, and proved guilty of Judaism. It is hardly necessary to add that all the property he left was confiscated. The proceedings against the condemned were now read, and the bodies handed over to the secular powers for execution, the alcaide of the holy office giving each a slight blow on the breast, to testify that they were abandoned. They were carried to the banks of the river, where the faggots had been

piled the previous day, while those who had received absolution were reconducted to their prisons. The manner in which the executions took place was this. The condemned were asked in what religion they wished to die. If they replied, "In the Christian religion," they were tied to the stake, and strangled previous to being burnt; but if they persisted in Judaism, or whatever other heresy they might have an inclination for, they were burnt alive. The day following that of the *auto da fé*, the pictures of those who had been put to death on the previous day were carried through the Dominican churches, the name and crime being mentioned underneath, and were afterwards permanently hung up in the churches as trophies of the holy office.

Dellon returned to his prison, and next day, with the rest of the prisoners, attended in the hall to receive directions from the inquisitor as to his destination. He was sent to a religious house in the neighbourhood, where religious instruction was imparted to him and his fellows for some time. In a short time he was recalled to the holy office, where the inquisitor gave him written instructions as to the penances he was to perform. He was then sent on board a ship which sailed to Portugal. On his arrival he was made a galley slave, but, by means of an influential Frenchman, he was released soon after, and returned to France. Dellon, on the whole, escaped very well. He was not tortured, but he said that he frequently heard the cries of those who were so treated.

The trial of Galileo, for holding and publishing

the opinion that the earth revolves round the sun, is so well known, that it is unnecessary to do more here than repeat the main facts of the case. He was summoned to Rome, in 1615, to answer the charges of the Inquisition for this offence, and, after a comparatively mild reprimand, was allowed to return home. Having afterwards written a work in which the same views were promulgated, he was a second time cited to appear before the tribunal of the holy office at Rome, in 1632-33; and although he represented that he was then seventy years of age, and in such an infirm state of health as to make travelling dangerous to him, he was compelled to leave Florence and appear before his judges. On his arrival, he had the unusual indulgence extended to him of residing with his friend Niccolini, instead of being required to lodge in the prison of the holy office. He appeared several times before the Court of Inquisition, and eventually signed an abjuration of his opinions,* being at the same time sentenced to imprisonment during the pleasure of his judges, and to the repetition of the seven penitential psalms once a-week during the following three years.

A good deal of odium has been cast on Galileo in consequence of his having tamely signed an abjuration of his matured opinions; but it can hardly be believed that a man of his strength of mind,

* We have not room for the insertion of this document here; but those desirous of reading it, as well as the sentence of the holy office, will find them in the *Life of Galileo*, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, pages 59 and 62.

though of advanced age, would have so acted without very forcible reasons; and it has in fact been conjectured that, during one of the days which he spent in the holy office, he was tortured until he consented to sign whatever he was required. This supposition gains strength from the fact that, after this time, he was, in addition to his old complaints, afflicted with *hernia*, which, it is said, was a consequence of the torture of the cord. Papers relating to the trial prove, indeed, that as his confession was unsatisfactory, he was subjected to the *rigorous examination*; a phrase which, in other cases, has been used to indicate the torture.* His sentence of imprisonment was not rigorously enforced, and he was in a short time allowed to return to Florence. That we may appreciate the justice of his judges, it may be necessary to state, that previous to the publication of the work which caused his second citation to Rome, Galileo had taken the precaution to have it licensed by the Inquisition of Florence; so that the punishment ought to have fallen on those who licensed it, not on the author.—The indulgences which Galileo enjoyed in Rome were not the result of the mildness of the Inquisition there, but were obtained for him, only after great exertion, by some influential friends.

Isaac Orobio de Castro, a doctor of physic, gave Limborch an account of the tortures to which he had been subjected in the Inquisition of Madrid. He had been denounced as a Jew, by a Moorish

* For proofs of this, see Quinet's "Ultramontanism," (English translation,) page 68.

servant, who had, by his orders, been whipped for stealing; and four years afterwards he was accused of practices tending to prove him a Jew. After being imprisoned for three years, and undergoing several examinations, during which he denied the crimes imputed to him, he was carried out of his prison to the place of torture. It was a large underground room, arched, and lighted by candles fastened to the walls, which were covered with black hangings. The inquisitor and notary sat at a table, placed in a recess at one end of the apartment. Previous to the torture being applied, the inquisitor admonished him to confess; but as he still affirmed his innocence, the inquisitor declared that as he was so obstinate as to suffer the torture, the holy office would be released from all blame if he should be maimed, or even if he should die under the process. The executioners then put on him a linen garment, which they drew so very close as almost to squeeze him to death. When he was almost dying from the pressure, they at once let the sides loose, the sudden release causing him as much anguish as the pressure had done. Being again admonished to confess, and still refusing, he had small cords tied round his thumbs, and they were tightened so unmercifully as to cause the extremities to swell, and the blood to spirt from beneath his nails. As he still refused to confess, he was placed on a bench against the wall, in which were fastened several iron pullies having ropes running through them. The ropes were fastened to his arms, legs, and round various parts of his body, and were then drawn so

tight as to cause him the most exquisite pain. The bench was then knocked from under him, so as to cause the weight of his body to draw the knots closer, and increase the agony. This being over, he was subjected to a torture on his shins. Each of the instruments consisted of two upright pieces of wood, and five cross-bars sharpened on one side, and somewhat like a ladder. By a peculiar motion the executioner struck his shins with these instruments, in such a manner as to inflict five severe blows on each of them: so severe, indeed, that Orobio fainted away. On his recovery, he had the last torture inflicted. The executioner tied two ropes round Orobio's wrists, and then put the ropes over his own back, which was covered with leather that he might not hurt himself. The executioner then placed his feet against the wall and fell backwards, so as to cause the ropes to penetrate even to the prisoner's bones. This process was repeated three times, the ropes being placed on each new occasion about two inches from the former wound. But it happened that, on the second occasion, the ropes slid into the wound inflicted previously, and caused such an effusion of blood that the physician and surgeon were sent for, and were asked whether the torture could be continued without danger of death? They, being friends to Orobio, replied that he had strength enough to endure the remainder of the torture. This saved the prisoner, for had they answered otherwise, the torture would have been suspended, and inflicted over again whenever he had strength to bear it. As it was, Orobio had

only to endure one more torture; after which, he was remanded to his prison. His wounds were scarcely healed in seventy days. As he had not confessed under the torture, he was condemned (as suspected of Judaism) to wear the *san-benito* for two years, and, after that time, to perpetual banishment. He appears to have escaped (previous to the term of his penance expiring) to Holland; and died at Amsterdam, in 1707.

In 1702, Don Estevan de Xeres, a rich inhabitant of Mexico, quitted America in order to reside in Spain, (from which he had been absent from his infancy,) and at the same time carried with him a considerable part of his fortune. He was now about fifty-four years of age. Some residents obliged the captain of the vessel in which Estevan had taken his passage to put into Lisbon. However, he considered this accident as of small importance, and resolved to travel by land to Madrid. He accordingly disembarked his domestics, his effects, his gold, and his merchandise, and took a lodging in Lisbon, intending to pass a few days in that city, in order to recover from the fatigues of his voyage.

The avarice of the landlord of the house wherein our traveller lodged was inflamed at the sight of the great riches which Estevan possessed, and he burned with desire to appropriate at least some part to himself; but how was this object to be accomplished? To accuse him before the Inquisition was indeed a sure method of plundering Estevan of his treasures, but then the holy office would confiscate them, and thus become the only gainer. He at length thought

that in the interval between the seizure of his person and the arrival of the commissioners to confiscate his goods, he should be able to secrete something of value, and run no risk of being brought to any account on the subject. He therefore determined on this plan. Another difficulty still remained behind. Estevan had been only a very few days in Lisbon; he was a stranger, whose life was totally unknown to him, as well as to every body else in the city. Upon what was he to found his accusation, so as to give it that appearance of probability which even the Inquisition required? It happened that this wretch had a son, as abandoned as himself, who had made many travels in America. He was of profligate morals, and embarrassed circumstances, and the father expected, by allowing him some small share of the treasures he should secure, to bring him over to second his base designs. He resolved immediately to impart his scheme to him, and went instantly to seek him.

This son, worthy of such a father, accepted the proposal with alacrity. In his travels he had resided for some time in Mexico; Don Estevan was not entirely unknown to him; it would be possible to make it appear, that a violent passion for an Indian beauty had prevailed upon him to gratify her and her friends, by some acts of adoration towards the sun. As the country was known to this young man, he would be enabled to mention the scene where this transaction had happened, and the witnesses who were present upon the occasion. The father was to add to this information, that Don

Estevan, since his arrival in Lisbon, had neglected to attend the churches; that he continued every day, for some hours, shut up in his own apartment, in order, probably, to follow, without restraint, his idolatrous devotions; that this suspicion was further confirmed by some little figures, of a strange form, which he had brought with him, and which he kept constantly in his chamber, strictly commanding the servants of the house not to touch or disarrange them.

Their abominable and ridiculous plot being thus laid, the two wretches repaired to the *Mesa* of the holy office, and delivered in their information. It was well received. The riches of the stranger had, during some days, been universally talked of in Lisbon, and the opportunity of seizing upon them was much too favourable to be lost. The next day, late in the evening, Estevan was arrested, as he descended from his coach to enter his lodgings. He fortunately had, among the number of his domestics, a young negro, of about four and twenty years of age, whom he had educated from his infancy; and the faithful youth, by his extreme intelligence, capacity, and exemplary conduct, but above all by his inviolable attachment and affection, which resembled the strongest filial piety, had abundantly repaid the kindness he had shewn, and the confidence he had placed in him. Zamora, for this was his name, was present when his master was arrested. He knew enough of the Portuguese and Spanish manners to suspect the occasion, but in order to ascertain the fact, he followed at a distance the familiars

who conducted his benefactor. He saw them enter the gates of the Inquisition; and from that moment he formed the resolution of saving his master's life, or of perishing in the attempt. His first reflection was, that without money he could not hope for success. He, therefore, flew back to his master's lodging, being acquainted with the spot where the most valuable effects were deposited, from the perfect confidence which was placed in his honesty. He, therefore, instantly ascended to the apartment, and seized a small chest filled with diamonds, together with a pocket book, which contained the most valuable notes; he then hastened down stairs, and escaping amid the confusion which the event which had just occurred had occasioned, he went and hired a lodging for the night, in a remote part of the city. All night he was tormented by the most distressing anxieties; he reflected on the danger to which he should be exposed, were he discovered to possess the valuable effects which he had the good fortune to secure out of his master's property. Suspicion would undoubtedly be excited to his prejudice: he would be charged with having stolen them. His great project would thus be rendered abortive, and he would perish as a culprit, without any advantage to his benefactor. But where was he to conceal his valuable prize? in whom should he confide? to whom reveal his important secret? At length he remembered, that, since their arrival in Lisbon, he had attended his master more than once to the house of the French consul, with whom he had appeared to be on terms of strict friendship.

He reflected, beside, that this person was not subject to the power of the Inquisition, and would be able to act without endangering himself by his humanity. At the first dawn of day, he arose, and having repaired to the consul's house, he entreated a private audience. Being admitted, he informed the consul of the calamity which had befallen his master, of the resolution which he had formed to deliver him, of the means he had used to save part of his property, and to provide himself with a fund for carrying on his design, and besought him to take charge of the precious articles which he bore.

The consul, surprised at the spirit and fidelity of the young stranger, engaged to afford him every assistance in his power, and promised to keep with the greatest safety the deposit entrusted to his care. He desired him to sit down, entered into conversation with him, and asked him if he knew anything of the reason of his master's arrest. "Nothing in the world," replied the youth; "his conduct in the new world was always irreproachable; and since we disembarked in this city, I have never been absent from him for a moment. I can safely assert that he was never guilty of a single act, or word, or look, that betrayed even indiscretion; no; his riches have tempted some wretches to ruin him. In my honest opinion, if I am to speak my entire mind, Don Estevan made choice of a dangerous residence; the master of the house appeared to me to be too inquisitive; he harassed all our people with continual questions, and frequently interrogated myself concerning the life of my master. I do not like the

character of this man; his son, whom I am told he had not seen for a long time, has been reconciled to him within a few days, and during that time they have had many private interviews and conferences together. I think I observed them to exchange very suspicious looks, as they viewed the numerous trunks and parcels which Don Estevan had brought with him into the house. The day before yesterday they spent the evening together, and yesterday they were never separated. Perhaps I am deceived, but I cannot help suspecting that these men are not unconcerned in the cause of our calamity." "If that be the case," replied the consul, "I will baffle at least a part of their plot. I will disappoint their avarice and that of the Inquisition. I know that Estevan has caused a large part of his cargo to be insured at Bordeaux; I will require that this be sequestered to secure the charges of my countrymen, so that if you succeed in your generous enterprise, Estevan will not, at least, be ruined.— But how do you intend to proceed in this design?" "I know not; but this good fortune is a favourable omen of my success." "Consider the dangers you incur." "They are great, I am aware, but I fear them not." "How do you propose to begin?" "I cannot tell; Providence will be my guide." "But if you fail?" "Then I have nothing that I would wish to live for."

They resolved, in order to avoid all suspicion, that Zamora should only visit him in the night, to give an account of his proceedings, and to receive the money necessary for the furtherance of his plans.

The consul gave him the key of a private door in his garden, shewed him a private staircase by which he might ascend unnoticed to his chamber, and agreed with him on a private signal to be made at the door. After arranging these points they separated, the consul filled with uneasiness for the fate of the young stranger, and Zamora elated with hope, from the auspicious commencement of his plans.

That very morning the consul repaired to the lodgings of Estevan; the commissioners of the Inquisition were there before him, and had begun to make an inventory of the goods of the prisoner. The consul, by virtue of the treaty of commerce which existed between the two nations, exhibited to them the insurance of the company at Bordeaux, and required, in order to secure the interests of his countrymen, that all the effects of Estevan should be sequestered until the termination of his trial. At the same time, calling to mind the suspicions expressed by Zamora, he required that the entire house should be searched, lest any part of the property of the prisoner should have been removed out of his own apartments. The host, terrified for the consequences of this proceeding, and knowing that the Inquisition was inexorably severe in punishing this kind of peculation, exclaimed that he himself had intended to have made the same demand, because the parcels belonging to the prisoner were so numerous, that in the confusion of his first arrival they had been placed in every part of the house, and some even in his own chamber, as he took care to specify. By these means, this knave, being

entangled in the net which himself had laid, completely lost the reward of his iniquity, and nothing was left him but the remorse which follows so atrocious an action. The spirit and presence of mind of the consul also compelled the commissioners to forego their claim for the immediate possession of the property of Estevan, and they viewed with the utmost regret the danger in which they were of losing so rich a booty.

Meanwhile, Zamora, whose spirits were now considerably tranquilised, exerted all his ingenuity to devise a mode of proceeding which might finally conduct him to the event which his heart so anxiously desired. His first and most important step was to penetrate into the mansion of the holy office, but this attempt was attended with great difficulty, and perhaps with imminent danger. It depended entirely on the probability of the pretext which he should make use of on the occasion. A thousand different projects occurred to his mind; he compared them all, but no two agreed together. Thus a day passed without his being able to resolve on any thing. So he returned to his lodging, discharged his debt there, and procured another in a more convenient part of the city. Being secure of not wanting money, and of being able to make all the sacrifices necessary for the liberation of his benefactor, he retired to rest once more, uncertain how he should begin; and recruited by repose the incessant fatigue, both of body and mind, which he had undergone during the last twenty-four hours.

The moment he awoke, he again began to revolve

the ideas which were uppermost in his mind, when one thought occurred to him, which exhibited the possibility of gaining access to the mansion of the Inquisition without giving rise to any suspicion. He instantly rose, meditated upon the part which he was to play, and composed his dress, his figure, his mien, so as best to suit the character he assumed. At length, when he thought himself sufficiently prepared to deceive all observation, by an apparent simplicity, and to answer every objection that might be made to his declarations, he sallied forth and repaired to the holy office. It was about ten o'clock in the morning. He begged to speak to the Grand Inquisitor. The guards and attendants treated him with rudeness, "His eminence is asleep." "I will wait then." "So you may wait! On whose part do you come?" "On my own." "Your own indeed; perhaps you belong to some master?" "Yes, to Don Estevan." In a moment their tone was changed; they took him for an informer. "Enter, good friend, his eminence shall be apprised of your visit." A messenger was instantly despatched with the intelligence, and returned back almost instantly. "His eminence," said the messenger, "is engaged at present, but he has commanded his private secretary, the right reverend father Juan Maria, of the most illustrious order of St. Dominic, to give you an audience." They then conducted him through a number of magnificent apartments, and brought him at length to that of the secretary, who was carelessly reclining on a sofa, after having just finished his chocolate. He was in the act of saluting a young

lady, concerning whom we are not to make too many inquiries. "Go in peace," said he, "my dear sister, and sin no more;" a smile was her reply, as she left the room. "Well, my son, you belong then to this wretch Estevan? He is a great sinner, is he not? He is a new Christian, his mother was a Jewess, dont you say so? Shall I write down your deposition?" "Most reverend and illustri"

"Come, my son, dont tremble so; take courage; you are here in the very temple of justice and of mercy." "I thought so when I entered it, most illustrious. Ah! Don Estevan; he is the cause of my grief. Consider, most reverend father, how frequently in Mexico he promised to have me baptised, but some business or other always interfered." "Tell of his impiety, my son; he is an atheist, he mocks at the sacraments. Well, my good child, go on." "Well, reverend father, he promised to secure me this blessing in Europe; but see, he has been arrested, and I am not baptised; and if by any misfortune I should now die, poor Zamora would go directly into hell." "*Bone Deus!* my son, God will not allow such a thing to happen; but what was he arrested for?" "I know not, most reverend father, I suppose by the government; but finding myself forsaken and abandoned to myself, I imagined that, as the Grand Inquisitor and all who surround him are saints, none were so proper to extricate me from the danger in which I stand." "*Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto.* Yes, my dear son, we will rescue you from the claws of the devil. It is God himself who has been your conductor hither!" "Ah! good

father, what joy, what happiness for me! Here are fifty pieces of gold; they are the fruit of my labour from my childhood; will your reverence condescend to employ this money in having masses said for my salvation?" "Fifty pieces! I will instruct you, I will teach you your catechism; I will be your sponsor, with my niece, whom you saw here just now; and I trust that his eminence the Grand Inquisitor will condescend to perform the ceremony; but what business have you at present?" "None, I have now no place; I have given your reverence all that I had, but I would rather fast than lose my salvation." "The harmlessness of the dove!—Well, I will attach you to the holy office, it is the way to heaven. What can you do?" "I know a little of cooking and gardening; I can shave well; besides I am active and alert. I have a quick eye, a ready ear, and an excellent memory." "And discretion?" "I can answer for that." "Excellent!" replied the secretary, and rang a small bell which lay upon the table. "Major domo," said he to a man who entered and stood respectfully at the door, "this young negro is a catechumen, whom his eminence and I take under our special protection. I recommend him to you; you will employ him in whatever he is found fit for; I entrust him to your care. Give him a chamber to himself, and see that he be well fed and well treated. Go; and you, my son, follow him, work, and pray that you may not fall into temptation." The major domo and Zamora bent their knees with submission, and his reverence honoured them with his salutation, *Benedicat vos omnipotens Deus.*

If Zamora had dared to give way to the feelings of his soul, to what transports would he not have yielded; but he was obliged to confine them within his own heart. He was anxious, above all things, to apprise the consul of his success. But for some days, they might watch his steps, as the powerful protection of father Juan Maria had excited jealousy among the domestics of the house. It was therefore necessary that he should deprive them of even the slightest pretext to injure him. He accordingly employed the first month in conciliating the good-will of everybody around him. He studied, assiduously, the catechism of father Juan, he anticipated his desires, he guessed at his intentions, and gratified his smallest wishes. When presented by him to the Grand Inquisitor, he had been equally successful in recommending himself to that prelate. Without being elated by this favour, and without even boasting of his credit among his inferiors, he used his utmost exertions to please them. He assisted their labours, executed their commissions, drank with them, concealed or excused their errors, so that in a short time he became the object of universal affection in the holy office.

It was above all to the alcaide and the guards of the prisoners that he studied to recommend himself. The alcaide had a mistress, of whom he was jealous; and Zamora, by executing his business in the house, enabled him to absent himself more frequently. The guards were fatigued with their duty; Zamora watched for them, and passed whole nights in their places. He entertained them with accounts of his

travels, and of his country, and sometimes a few bottles of wine promoted the hilarity of the evening. Still all this was very far from the object upon which his heart was set. Already, thanks to the confidence which he enjoyed, and to his reason, he had got access to the dungeons of upwards of fifty prisoners, but without entering the only one he wished to behold. How was he to discover it? Of whom should he enquire? The most indifferent question might occasion his destruction. However, he went to visit his friend the consul, who, delighted at his success, supported his courage, but was unable to give him any hint of what he wished to know. The fatiguing restraint of the part which he was thus obliged to play for upwards of four months, and his increasing anxiety, undermined both his health and his spirits, and he would probably have sunk beneath the weight of his affliction had not heaven come to his relief.

One morning, as he stood in the gallery with the guards, the major-domo brought a note to the alcaide. The alcaide immediately ordered six of them to take their carbines, This was the usual sign that they were about to conduct a prisoner to the board of the holy office. Zamora was going to retire, when the alcaide said to him, "Come you also with us, you will behold a quarter you are not as yet acquainted with." These words made him tremble with anxiety. He followed them. The alcaide then opened a door which, till then, Zamora had always seen shut. They ascended to an upper floor, and came to a gallery less dark than that

below. "This is the quarter of the *Hidalgos*, or people of quality," said the alcaide. At last they arrived at one chamber; the bars were withdrawn, the double doors were opened; "You are summoned," said the alcaide to the prisoner within. A person then came forth: it was Estevan himself! He proceeded, with his eyes fixed on the ground; he raised them, and beheld his faithful follower. Zamora, shuddering with terror lest some slight gesture might occasion the destruction of both, placed his finger upon his lips. Estevan understood the signal, and went forward without betraying the least emotion. Zamora, being thus set at ease, suffered him to proceed with his escort, and availing himself of the confidence which he enjoyed in the house, returned during the absence of Estevan to his dungeon, the door of which was left open. He examined its position, upon what external part of the building the window opened, how many bars secured it, and at what height it stood from the ground. It was over the gardens; the elevation about fifty feet. No windows, where any dangerous observation could be made, were directed towards this quarter; this was all he wanted to know. He came forth, and nobody observed him. He then descended and waited Estevan's return. For a long time Zamora had been ready to take advantage of any fortunate event. After a lapse of about two hours, Estevan returned with the same retinue; their eyes again met, and much meaning was in the glance. Being arrived at the door of his dungeon, Estevan entered. The alcaide was about to bolt the

door, when the officious Zamora offered to spare him the trouble, and pretending to employ some force, and drawing close the inner door, he passed his hand through the wicket by which the food of the prisoners is introduced, and let a small billet fall within. Then, having shut both doors, he retired with the guards and the alcaide. Estevan snatched this billet as the palladium of his fate, and read,—*“Courage, Patience, Silence, Attention, and above all; Tear After You Read.”* As soon as they descended the stairs, the alcaide said to Zamora, “He did not recognise you,—I observed him attentively,—not the least symptom of emotion escaped him.” “It was owing to his passing suddenly from darkness into light,” answered Zamora; “and what if he had recognised me? In coming hither, I have done my duty, and let him do his.” “That is well said,” replied the alcaide; “but when are you to be baptised?” “I know not: in three or four months, as his reverence promised me: my godmother is gone to Madrid, and he waits for her return. But Mr. Alcaide, you must be fatigued: a glass of wine and a biscuit will not be unacceptable: let us ascend to my chamber.” “With all my heart.”

The evening came, and Zamora, being at length alone, could indulge in the excess of his joy, and meditate on what remained to be done to crown with success an enterprise which he had hitherto conducted with so much skill. The most dangerous step was, by unexpected good fortune, prosperously accomplished. Estevan knew that his friend was near, and must suspect his intention; they had seen

one another, and no suspicion had been excited. He was therefore free from all apprehension on that account, but when would another opportunity of seeing him occur? should he wait till he was again summoned to an audience? Alas! that might not be for a very long time: the Inquisition was slow in its proceedings. His impatience excited him to action; he resolved to depend on his own address, upon fortune, which had hitherto been so propitious, and upon the favour and protection of heaven, which he humbly hoped would uphold the innocent.

The next morning he was in the garden which lay beneath the window of Estevan; he had worked there an hundred times without suspecting that he was so near his unfortunate master. The gardener was accustomed to see him there, and never interfered with any work that he did; he knew that father Juan was his protector, and that was enough. This gardener was a man upwards of sixty years of age, and extravagantly fond of brandy, which Zamora took care to provide for him in abundance. He had, by his good-natured attentions, rendered himself equally agreeable to the wife, so that Zamora was like the master of the house. It was necessary to pass through this house, in order to enter the garden from the street, into which the outer door opened. None but persons belonging to the Inquisition were allowed to enter there. The confidence of the gardener, the good will of his wife, and the liberty which was necessary for the performance of his work, had enabled Zamora to obtain a key of their door. By day or by night, at any hour that

he pleased, he could enter the garden unnoticed, and this had been the case almost ever since he had been in the house. Upon that day, he employed himself in ascertaining which of the windows that opened into the garden belonged to the dungeon of his master: he had taken care to count the number of doors which opened into the gallery, and by reckoning the same number of windows, he flattered himself that he had ascertained the right one. However, to remove all doubt, he took a spade, and pretending to dress some beds of flowers, he whistled a plaintive air which was well known to the inhabitants of Mexico. He was not mistaken: by reason of the silence which reigned in the Inquisition, the tune reached the ear of Estevan, who instantly made signal, by coughing within, that he was sensible of the presence of his faithful servant.

Secure on this point, Zamora devoted himself for some days to assist the servants whose business it was to convey their food to the prisoners in the morning and evening. They became at length so used to his assistance that they fell into the habit of calling him when this duty was to be performed. It was commonly done at noon and at six in the evening. Some of the guards always attended the servants, but whatever may be the rigour of the internal discipline of the Inquisition, it happens here, as well as elsewhere, that a duty frequently repeated at stated hours, is very apt to be performed negligently, and with remissness. By these means he had the opportunity of sometimes approaching Estevan, but the season did not seem to him propitious to his

views, the days being still too long. He determined to wait patiently for the autumn, since the darkness of the evenings would then better conceal their correspondence. The autumn arrived, and Zamora now formed his final resolution. He therefore supplied himself with money, which was necessary to forward his enterprise, and to provide against every accident. At length, one evening, as he conveyed to Estevan his supper through the wicket, he contrived adroitly to let fall a second billet,—“*To-morrow, at the same hour; caution.*” The next evening, at the hour of distribution, he took care to be at hand. His comrades arranged the suppers of the prisoners upon plates, in order to convey them to their cells. Zamora took charge of the basket which contained the portions of bread. They then set forward. In going along, one piece of bread fell from the basket, or appeared to fall. Zamora picked it up, and placed it under his arm. The distribution then was made from door to door, and Zamora contrived to introduce through that of Estevan, the piece of bread which he had picked up. Never, in his entire existence, did he experience anxiety equal to that which he suffered, from the moment when his pretended awkwardness caused the bread to fall from the basket, until that in which he conveyed it to the hand of Estevan. He had substituted it by stealth, in the kitchen, for another piece, which he left there, in order that there might not appear to be a piece too many, and thus create suspicions in such a place as the holy office, where the smallest trifles do not pass unnoticed. This

piece of bread, which exactly resembled those distributed to the prisoners, had been prepared at the house of the consul, and it contained a file. Let the reader conceive, if it be possible, the anxiety of this faithful youth, until he was certain that it was in the possession of Estevan. The sudden transition from so tormenting a state of inquietude to the rapture which he felt in his success, overpowered his spirits so much that, on his descending the stairs, he fainted away. Every body flew to his assistance, every one was prodigal of attention. Even father Juan Maria, when informed of the accident, came to see him. He quickly recovered his senses, and with these his native presence of mind. He ascribed his weakness to the oppressive heat of the day, and the little food which he had taken. Every word was heard with interest, every thing readily believed, and his precious secret was secure from detection. He then allowed Estevan time sufficient to avail himself of the invaluable aid of the file. The festival of Christmas approached, and this was the season which Zamora had made choice of for his enterprise.

In those days the friars, fatigued by the severity of their duties, were accustomed to spend more time at table, in order to recruit their strength and spirits, and were, therefore, likely to pass their nights in more profound repose. The nights then were long and dark, and Zamora took care to choose a time when there was no moon. On the night which preceded the eve of Christmas day, Zamora cast into his master's cell a third billet,—“If you

are ready, to-morrow, after dinner, leave some wine in your bottle." The answer that he wished for was returned: this was on Christmas eve. Upon the day of this festival, Zamora enjoyed a still greater facility of correspondence. At the hour of distributing their supper to the prisoners, the greater part of the servants, the guard, and the alcaide were still at church. Zamora then threw in his last billet,—"*To-morrow, between midnight and one o'clock, let down the cord, and get yourself ready.*" How long did this day appear to Zamora and his unfortunate friend!—The evening came; the routine of the day being over about six o'clock, the Grand Inquisitor and the majority of the superior members of the Inquisition sat down to table. The wine was not spared. At nine they separated, and in half an hour more they were all buried in a profound sleep. The alcaide then said to Zamora, "Every body is asleep, as you perceive, and there are no rounds to go to night;—I will go and spend a few hours with Donna Jacintha," (his mistress.) "Well," replied Zamora, "I have promised to sup with the gardener and his wife; if you please, we will go out together." The alcaide desired the guard to watch well. They promised as usual, and in half an hour after they were as fast asleep as every other person. When the principal fails in his duty, it seldom happens that the subalterns are on the alert. Zamora and the alcaide then went out, and each repaired to the place of his appointment. Zamora supped with the gardener and his wife. He had supplied himself with excellent

wine; joy, laughter, and songs heightened the pleasure of the repast; bumper followed bumper — and at eleven o'clock, the gardener leaned snoring on the table. The wife soon followed her lord's example, and Zamora was left alone.

The clock now struck twelve. Zamora extinguished the candles, and on tiptoe descended the stairs. He entered the garden. It was perfectly dark, and rained violently. He first ran to dig up a rope ladder which he had concealed beneath a bed of flowers, of which he alone had the care, under the pretence of cultivating them for father Juan Maria. After some search he found it, and flew to the window. A slight whistle was the signal, and in a moment after, a thin cord which he had conveyed to Estevan descended; he fastened it to his ladder, and then gave it a gentle pull. With the greatest delight he saw the ladder ascend. The agitation which he endured was now most dreadful. Estevan appeared, and in a moment more they were in each other's arms. They flew across the garden, entered the street, and were soon at a distance from the dreadful place. "Come," at length cried Zamora, "thanks to the father of all mercies, we are safe." They were then about to enter the street adjacent to the garden of the consul, when a man appeared. It was the alcaide. "Is this you, Zamora," said he; "and this man, surely I know his face?" The moment was dreadful — it was the decisive one. — Zamora seized the arm of the alcaide, and put a pistol to his breast. "If you speak," said he, "death! if you are silent, a thousand francs!"

"Neither," said the alcaide; "you fly, I perceive: let me accompany you — that is all I wish." Zamora hesitated. "Fear nothing," continued the alcaide, "I have lost every thing — Jacintha was false — she is now no more — Lisbon is now no place for me." "Come," said Zamora. The meeting, the conversation, the resolution, all passed in a time much shorter than the description occupies. They then entered the garden of the consul, flew across it in a moment, reached the door, ascended the stairs, and here had their liberty secure, in the asylum of his chamber.

After Estevan had returned heartfelt thanks to his deliverer, the consul said that he must have endured much during his imprisonment. "From the day I beheld Zamora," he replied, "hope resumed her station in my heart, and I ceased to suffer. But why my arrest? what had I done? what was my crime?" "Have not your judges informed you?" "Not a syllable." "No matter, you are safe. Forget your woes, forget your enemies, they have suffered for their villany. My exertions, in depriving your unworthy host of the booty of which he had robbed you, and which he expected to secure by your destruction at the *auto da fé*, rendered him unable to recompense his equally detestable son; this base accomplice revenged himself by parricide. Flight snatched him from the sword of offended justice, he traversed Spain, and reached France, where new crimes conducted him to the scaffold. At the moment of death, he declared the crime which he and his father had been guilty of towards you. This

declaration, properly authenticated, had reached me, and if heaven had not smiled on Zamora, I would have laid it before the Grand Inquisitor; but God, in his own wisdom, has decreed otherwise. It now only remains that we should convey you to a country where you may be out of the reach of envy and of danger. I have prepared everything: there is a vessel ready to attend my orders, in which you may fly from this unpropitious soil. This casket, and these notes, which Zamora entrusted to my care, will secure you from any immediate want; and I pledge myself to watch over your property, and to preserve, at least, a considerable part of it. Let us, however, suffer the first commotion, which your flight will occasion, to subside. For know that, by the maxims of the Inquisition, your death alone could expiate the guilt of an escape. You are here in a place of security, and I exult in the thought of being instrumental in your preservation."

The sun had risen before their interesting conversation was ended. The alcaide, whom they had totally forgotten, now returned to their recollection. On entering, they had in a few words informed the consul of his case, who entrusted him to the care of his valet, with orders to watch him carefully. Zamora then hastened to see him. "I expected you," said the unhappy man; "I can follow you no further. A burning fever consumes me; I have lost everything that bound me to life. The faithless — what shall I say? — love! revenge! oh revenge! if men but knew the horrid remorse by which it is succeeded."

From the very first day, a violent delirium distracted the miserable sufferer. "Jacintha! oh faithless Jacintha!" he exclaimed in his frenzy. His strength decayed, the violence of his disorder increased, all remedy became fruitless, and in that dreadful situation he expired. In order to avoid all dangerous explanations, he was privately interred in the chapel of the consul, and it was generally believed in the Inquisition of Lisbon that he had favoured the escape of Estevan, and fled in his company.

The consul suffered some days to pass away, during which he caused a report to be circulated that Estevan and Zamora had been seen in the mountains of Alenteijo, as they were endeavouring to gain the little port of Lagos, in order, doubtless, to endeavour to embark thence. This piece of news, passing from one person to another, at last gained the greatest credit, and all the attention of the familiars of the holy office was turned in that direction. This was what the consul had expected, and accordingly some spies, who had been observed about his hotel, entirely disappeared. He profited by this moment of calm. The master of the vessel was now ready, he accordingly sailed, and brought to near the cape of La Roca. The consul set out in the evening, Estevan and Zamora, both dressed in his livery, being behind his coach. On their arrival at Cascao, the ship's cutter was waiting for them. He caused them to go on board her, and himself conducted the two fugitives to the vessel, where he entrusted them to the care of the captain,

whom he officially ordered to answer for their safety to his government. Then, after a tender embrace, they separated.

The consul returned to Lisbon, while nobody suspected the motive of his short journey. The ship immediately sailed, and, after a prosperous voyage, landed Estevan and Zamora safe at Bordeaux. Being secure in this retreat, they mutually vowed never to separate, and to make the spot of their delivery that of their permanent habitation.

The following singular tale is vouched for by Gavin, who inserted it in his "Master Key to Popery," and who had the circumstances related to him by a young lady, one of the parties concerned, whom he met in France some time after the occurrence.

In 1706, after the battle of Almanza, a portion of the French troops was quartered in Saragossa, and the commander levied considerable sums, for the maintenance of his men, on the various bodies of Jesuits, Dominicans, and Carmelites in the city. On the Dominicans (most of whom were connected with the holy office) being called upon to contribute their quota, they civilly excused themselves, saying that they were unable to pay, unless they used the silver bodies of their saints; by which artifice they imagined they would exempt themselves from any payment. In this they were, however, deceived. M. de Legal, the lieutenant general, informed them that he would receive the saints with all due deference. Finding that they had no escape from the payment, unless the populace rose against the

soldiery, the Dominicans decided on walking through the streets in procession, for the purpose of delivering up their saints, hoping by this course to exasperate the people against the military despotism to which they were subjected, and thus save their darling images. M. de Legal, seeing their aim, drew up his men, that he might shew due respect to the procession; and received the saints, whom he at once sent to the mint to be melted down, politely assuring the discomfited ecclesiastics that he would carefully return any surplus which might remain after paying the required amount. Frustrated in their scheme, the Dominicans now complained to the inquisitors, who at once proceeded to excommunicate the audacious lieutenant general, hoping by this ingenious plan to release the saints from the mint. The excommunication being drawn up, the secretary of the holy office was ordered to go and read it to Legal; who, far from being offended, courteously took the papers, and informed the secretary that he would reply to it in the morning. He kept his promise. He ordered his secretary to draw up a copy of the excommunication, substituting the names of the inquisitors for his own; and in the morning despatched him with four regiments of soldiers to the Inquisition, desiring him to read the excommunication to the inquisitors, and if they ventured to make any noise, or to resist, he was to eject them from the building, release all prisoners, and quarter the soldiers in the house. It may easily be conceived that the inquisitors were very much sur-

prised at their position, and they cried out lustily against the heretic Legal, upon which the soldiers escorted them from the building to a house which had been assigned to them. The prisons were then thrown open, the prisoners released, and the soldiers established themselves in the place. The released prisoners amounted to four hundred, among whom were sixty young women, who, it appears, formed the seraglios of the three inquisitors. The Archbishop of Saragossa, fearing the scandal which would inevitably be caused by this disgraceful discovery, desired M. Legal to send these young women to his palace, and he would take care of them; and in the meantime he had an ecclesiastical censure published against all who should groundlessly defame the holy office. To his request, M. Legal replied, that he would gladly have obliged him, but as to the young women he could not aid him, the French officers having undertaken the charge of them.

Some time after this occurrence, Gavin, while traveling in France, met one of these young women, with whom he had been acquainted previous to her incarceration in the holy office, and she gave him an account of the circumstances which had placed her there. Her story was to this effect: One day, she had accompanied her mother on a visit to a countess of her acquaintance, and there met Don Francisco Torrejon, the confessor of the lady she was visiting, and second inquisitor of the holy office. After they had drank chocolate, he asked her a variety of questions as to her age, her confessor's

name, and, among the rest, a number of questions on religion, which she could not answer. His serious looks frightened her, and as he perceived that they did so, he desired the countess to assure her that he was not so severe as he appeared to be; and after caressing her, he went away, saying, "My dear child, I shall remember you till the next time." She did not then understand the meaning of his words, she being only fifteen years of age. That night, when the family had retired to rest, a loud knocking at the door disturbed her. On rising hastily she found that the disturbers were familiars of the holy office, who came for her. Her father gave her into their hands, and she was carried in a coach to the Inquisition, it being supposed by her family that she was imprisoned for some crime against religion.

As the young prisoner expected to die that night, she was rather surprised when she was conveyed to a noble and well furnished room, where a maid attended her with sweetmeats and cinnamon water, requesting her to refresh herself before she should retire to rest. Her fear would not allow her to eat, but she prayed the maid to inform her whether she was to die that night or not? Mary answered, "Die! you do not come here to die, but to live like a princess, and you shall want for nothing in the world but the liberty of going out; so pray, be not afraid, but go to bed and sleep easy, for to-morrow you shall see wonders in this house." In the morning, Mary brought her some chocolate and biscuits, and afterwards supplied her with several articles of dress, suitable to a lady of quality; and presented her with

a gold snuff box, with the portrait of Don Francisco in it. Her surprise did not get the better of her judgment; she considered that a refusal of the present might cause the loss of her life; while, being now aware of the designs of the Inquisitor, she thought it as unsafe to accept, as to refuse it. At length she desired Mary to tell Don Francisco, that she did not hesitate to accept the articles of apparel he had provided for her, as they were suitable to her wants; but as she took no snuff, she begged that he would excuse her if she did not accept the box. Mary delivered the message, and returned with a picture, set in gold and diamonds, saying, that his lordship had mistaken, and he desired she would accept the picture. While she was considering how she ought to act, Mary advised her to accept not only the picture, but anything else the Inquisitor might send her, and to submit entirely to his will, for if she did not, she would inevitably be put to death, while if she did, she would find him complaisant and kind. In an agony of fear, she desired Mary to reply to the message as she thought fit, and the maid retired for the purpose of doing so. On her return, she told her that Don Francisco would honour her with his company at supper, and had desired that she might be furnished with clothes, and any thing else she required. Mary then said, "Madam, I may now call you my mistress, and must tell you, that I have been in the holy office these fourteen years, and know the customs of it very well; but as silence is imposed upon me upon pain of death, I cannot tell you anything except

what concerns your own person. So, in the first place, do not oppose the holy father's will ; secondly, if you see any young ladies here, do not ask them any questions, neither will they ask you, and take care that you never tell them any thing. You may come and divert yourself among them at such hours as are appointed ; you shall have music, and all sorts of recreations ; three days hence you shall dine with them ; they are all ladies of quality, young and merry ; you will live so happily here, that you will have no wish to go abroad ; and when your time is expired, then the holy fathers will send you out of this country, and marry you to some nobleman. Never mention your own name, nor Don Francisco's, to any ; if you see here some young ladies you have formerly been acquainted with, no notice must be taken, nor anything talked of but indifferent matters."

In the evening, Mary told her that Don Francisco was about to visit her, and in a short time he made his appearance, "*not with the gravity of an Inquisitor, but with the gaiety of an officer.*" He saluted her respectfully, and told her that he had visited her out of respect for her family ; that some of her lovers had procured her ruin, by denouncing her to the holy office, in matters of religion ; that her sentence was, that she should be burnt alive in the dry pan, with a gradual fire ; but that he out of pity for her, had stopped the execution of it. She threw herself at his feet and cried, "Ah ! Seigneur, have you stopped the execution for ever ?" To which he replied, "That only belongs to you to stop it or not,"

and he then abruptly took his leave. The miserable prisoner then cried bitterly, and asked Mary what was the meaning of the dry pan, and gradual fire, for she expected to die by it. Mary replied that she need not fear, she should soon see them, but they were intended for those only who opposed the holy father's will, not for those who were obedient to him. And on being informed as to what had transpired between the Inquisitor and his prisoner, Mary said, "You do not yet know his temper: he is extremely kind to people that are obedient to him, but if they are not, he is as unmerciful as Nero; so, for your own sake, take care to oblige him in all respects; and now, dear madam, pray go to supper, and be easy." She could not, however, be easy; the thoughts of the dry pan, and gradual fire, troubled her so much, that sleep was banished from her eyes for the night.

Early in the morning Mary got up, and told her that as nobody was yet stirring in the house, she would, if her mistress would promise secrecy, shew her the dry pan and gradual fire. She took her down stairs, and brought her into a room with a thick iron door; and within it was an oven burning, and a large brass pan, having a cover fastened with a large padlock. In the next room there was a large wheel, covered on both sides with thick boards, Mary opened a small window in the centre of it, and holding a candle, desired her to look. Then she saw that the inner circumference of the wheel was set with sharp razors. After that, Mary shewed her a pit full of serpents and toads. She then said,

"Now, my good mistress, I'll tell you the use of these three things. The dry pan is for heretics, and those that oppose the holy fathers' will and pleasure. They are put naked, alive, into the pan, and the cover of it being locked up, the executioner begins to put a small fire into the oven, and by degrees he augmenteth it, till the body is reduced to ashes. The second is designed for those that speak against the Pope and the holy fathers; for they are put within the wheel, and the little door being locked, the executioner turns the wheel till the person is dead. And the third is for those who condemn the images, and refuse to give due respect and veneration to ecclesiastical persons; for they are thrown into the pit, and so become the food of serpents and toads." Mary then said that she would some other day shew her the torments for public sinners; but the prisoner was in such an agony at what she had seen, that she desired her to shew her no more. Mary then took her to her room, and told her that if she was not obedient to Don Francisco, she might be assured she would have to undergo the torments of the dry pan. At the idea of such a death her senses almost left her, and she promised to do as she was asked. "If you are in that disposition," said Mary, "leave off all fear, and expect nothing but pleasure and satisfaction. Now let me dress you, for you must go to wish a good morrow to Don Francisco, and to breakfast with him." Mary took her to the chamber of the inquisitor, and the result may be anticipated. To save herself from the horrors of the dry pan, whether imaginary or real,

she gave way to the villain, who had withdrawn her from her relatives, and had now succeeded in ruining her.

In the afternoon, the young ladies whom Mary had before spoken of, all being beautiful and finely dressed, came to embrace her, and wish her joy(!). My surprise (we now use the lady's own words) was so great, that I was unable to answer their compliments; but one of them, seeing me so silent, said to me, "Madam, the solitude of this place will affect you in the beginning, but when you begin to feel the pleasures and amusements we enjoy, you will quit your pensive thoughts; now we beg of you the honour to come and dine with us to day; and henceforth, three days in a week." I returned them thanks, and so we went to dinner. That day we had all sorts of exquisite meats, delicate fruits, and sweetmeats. The room was long, with two tables on each side, and another at the front of it, and I reckoned in it that day fifty-two young ladies, the eldest of them not exceeding twenty-four years of age: six maids did serve the whole number of us; but Mary waited on me alone. After dinner, we went up stairs into a long gallery, where some of us played on instruments of music, others at cards, and some walked about for three or four hours together. At last, Mary came up ringing a bell, which was, as they informed me, the signal to retire into our rooms: but Mary said to the whole company, Ladies, to-day is a day of recreation, so you may retire into what rooms you please, till eight o'clock. They all desired to go into my apartment.

with me: we found in my antechamber a table, with all sorts of sweetmeats upon it; iced cinnamon, almond milk, and the like. Every one did eat and drink, but nobody spoke a word touching the sumptuousness of the table, or concerning the Inquisition, or the holy fathers. So we spent our time in merry, indifferent conversation till eight o'clock, and then every one retired to their own room.

* * * * *

We spent the second and third day in the same recreation, Don Francisco continuing in the same manner with me; but on the fourth morning, after drinking chocolate, Mary told me that a lady was waiting for me in her own room, and with an air of authority, desired me to get up and follow her. Don Francisco saying nothing to the contrary, I obeyed, and left him. I thought this was to give me some new comfort, but I was very much mistaken; for Mary conveyed me into a lady's room, not eight feet long, which was a perfect prison, and told me this was my room, and this young lady my bedfellow and companion; and without saying any more, she left me there.

"What is this, dear lady," said I; "is it an enchanted place, or hell upon earth? I have lost father and mother, and, what is worse, I have lost my honour, and my soul for ever." My new companion, seeing me like a mad woman, took me by the hands, and said, "Dear sister,—for this is the name I will henceforth give you,—forbear to cry and grieve, for you can do nothing by such extravagant behaviour, but draw upon yourself a cruel death.

Your misfortunes and ours are exactly of a piece; you suffer nothing that we have not suffered before you; but we dare not show our grief, for fear of greater evils. Pray take courage, and hope in God, for he will surely deliver us out of this hellish place. But, be sure you show no uneasiness before Mary, who is the only instrument either of our torments or comforts; have patience till we go to bed, and then I will venture to tell you more of the matter, which, I hope, will afford you some comfort." I was in a most desperate condition; but my new sister Leonora prevailed so much upon me, that I overcame my vexation before Mary came again to bring our dinner, which was very different from what we had for three days before. After dinner, another maid came to take away the plate and knife, for we had but one for us both. After she had gone out and locked the door, "Now, my dear sister," said Leonora, "we shall not be disturbed again till eight at night; so if you will promise me, upon your hopes of salvation, to keep secret, while you are in this house, all the things I shall tell you, I will reveal all that I know. . . . My dear sister, you think your case very hard, but, I can assure you, all the ladies in this house have already gone through the same. In time you shall know all their stories, as they hope to know yours. I suppose Mary has been the chief instrument of your fright, as she has been of ours, and I warrant she has shown you some horrible places, though not all, and that only at the thought of them you were so much troubled in your mind that you have chosen the same way we did,

to redeem yourself from death. By what has happened to us, we know that Don Francisco has been your Nero; for the three colours of our clothes are the distinguishing tokens of the three holy fathers. The red silk belongs to Don Francisco, the blue to Guerrero, and the green to Aliaga; for they always give these colours to those ladies that they bring hither for their use. We are strictly commanded to make all demonstrations of joy, and to be very merry for three days, when a young lady comes first here, as we did with you, and as you must do with others. But afterwards we live like prisoners, without seeing any living soul but the six maids and Mary, who is the house-keeper. We dine all of us in the hall three days a week. I have been six years in this house, and was not fourteen when the officers took me from my father's house. We have at present fifty-two young ladies, and we lose every year six or eight, but we do not know where they are sent. We always get new in their places; and sometimes I have seen here seventy-three ladies at once. Our continual torment is, to think that when the holy fathers are tired of one, they put her to death, for they will never run the hazard of being discovered in their villainy. So, though we cannot oppose their commands, yet we continually pray to God to pardon those sins we are forced to commit, and to deliver us out of their hands. So, my dear sister, arm yourself with patience, for there is no other remedy."

This discourse of Leonora prevailed on me to appear outwardly easy before Mary. I found every-

thing as she told me. And in this manner we lived eighteen months, in which time we lost eleven ladies, and we got nineteen new ones. I know all their stories, which are too long to tell you to-night, but if you will stay here this week you will not think your time lost.

After eighteen months, one night Mary came in and told us to follow her down stairs, where we found a coach waiting, into which she forced us to go, and this we thought the last night of our lives. However, we were carried to another house, and put into a worse room than the former, where we were confined above two months, without seeing the face of anybody that we knew; and in the same manner we were removed from that house to another, where we continued till we were miraculously delivered by the French officers. M. Faulcant, happily for me, did open the door of my room, and from the moment he saw me, showed me great civility. He took Leonora and me to his own lodgings, and after hearing our stories, for fear things should turn to our disadvantage, he dressed us in men's clothes for the more safety, and sent us to his father's. So we came to this house, where I was kept for two years as the old man's daughter, till, M. Faulcant's regiment being disbanded, he came home, and, two months after, married me. Leonora was married to another officer. So ended the story of the lady's adventures in the Inquisition of Saragossa.*

* The licentious conduct of the inquisitors and confessors has often been the subject of remark; as regards the latter, a bull was published by Paul IV., in which it was ordained

that confessors guilty of the crime of soliciting penitents, during confession, to indecent acts, should be denounced to the holy office. On the promulgation of this bull in Seville, the holy office decreed that informations against confessors, for this crime, should be lodged within thirty days. Such a number of respectable females went to the palace of the Inquisition, in the city of Seville alone, to denounce the conduct of their confessors on this occasion, "that," says Gonsalvus Montanus, "twenty notaries and as many inquisitors would not have sufficed to take their names." The time allowed being quite insufficient to enable the inquisitors to get all the informations taken, another period of thirty days was allowed; then a third, and then a fourth; but as it was then found that the corruption of the confessors was so great, as (if known) to endanger the power of the Church of Rome, and as the greatest excitement was caused in the city by husbands watching outside the holy office to see whether their wives would enter, while those who came to denounce muffled themselves in cloaks and veils lest they should be recognised by their husbands, the inquisitors, with their usual discretion, abolished all the informations, and ordered that they should be consigned to perpetual silence and oblivion. It is said that this decision was by order of the Pope, to whom a considerable sum was presented by the confessors implicated in this disgraceful business, who raised the amount among themselves for the purpose. Montanus says that the consciences of the monks, friars, and priests evidently smote them, for during the progress of the denunciations they walked about, "hanging down their heads, all in dump and melancholy, by means of their guilty consciences, quaking and trembling, and looking every hour when some of the familiars should take them by the sleeve, and call them in *coram* for these matters."

CHAPTER IX.

THE narrative of the imprisonment of Isaac Martin, an Englishman, in the Inquisition of Granada, is interesting, although it does not exhibit the cruelty of the holy office so much as many other narrations do. Martin appears to have been a straightforward, plain-spoken John Bull, and as his blunt language may please our readers, we shall make use of his own words as far as possible.

"In the beginning of Lent," says Martin, "in the year 1714, I arrived at Malaga, with my wife and four children. Landing my goods at the Custom-house to be searched, a large Bible and other books of devotion that I had were found and seized. I asked what was the reason, and was told that they must be examined, to see if there was nothing written against the holy faith of the Church of Rome. Knowing that there were no books of controversy, I thought I should have them again. I went several times to the clergy to see and get them, and asked advice of the council and other gentlemen, how I should do to get them. They telling me it was in vain to trouble myself, for I should never get them, I gave over going to the clergy, and lost my books. I had not been above two or three months at Malaga, but I was accused in the

Bishop's Court of being a Jew, and that my name was Isaac, and one of my children Abraham. I hearing of it acquainted the council, who bid me not to mind it; that one of the Irish papists had given that information, and bid me keep no correspondence with them, for they were a scandalous sort of people. The clergy made an inquiry of the neighbours, and sent for some that knew me, to know what they knew of me, whether I was a Jew or a heretic. They all said that they thought I was a heretic; that I had lived in Spain and Portugal before now, and knew that the Jews were not permitted to live there upon pain of being burnt, if they do not turn Roman Catholics. I soon found that I had enemies, but did not much regard them, for I thought it was not in their power to do me any harm, and that it was nothing but envy that made them speak against me.

“During four years that I was at Malaga, I and my family were very much tormented by the clergy and others persuading us to change our religion, and especially by an Irish priest, who makes it his business to go from house to house to gain converts, as he calls them. Finding that I could not rest, I resolved to dispose of what I had, and retire to England, and serve God in the exercise of my religion, in peace and quietness, without being tormented to change it. I had no sooner given out that I would dispose of what I had and retire, but there was a great noise that I was to be taken up by the Inquisition, which I could not believe; but in some few days after, I found to my sorrow that it was true.

About nine o'clock at night, being late in those countries, people knocking at my door, I asked them what they would have? They said, they wanted to come in. I desired them to come next morning, for I did not open my doors at such an hour. They answered, they would break them open, which accordingly they did, being about fifteen priests, familiars, a commissioner, and others belonging to the Inquisition, in arms. I asked them what they wanted? They told me they wanted the master of the house: to which I replied, I am the man, what do you want with me? who are you all? They answered, We belong to the Inquisition: take your cloak and come along with us. I was surprised at this, and said, Pray, gentlemen, stay a little, that I may give notice to my consul, for I am an Englishman, and the Inquisition has nothing to do with me. But they answered, Your consul has nothing to do in this case; come, let us see if you have any arms about you. Where are your beads? I said, I am an English protestant; we carry no private arms, nor make use of beads. When they had searched me, and taken my watch, money, and other things that I had in my pockets, they carried me to the bishop's prison, and put me in a dungeon, with a pair of fetters on, forbidding the prisoners, on pain of excommunication, to have any conversation with me, for I was a heretic, and a very dangerous man against the holy faith. My wife and children fell a-crying, to see so many men in arms carrying me away; but she was forced to go and cry in the neighbourhood, for they turned her and her children out

of doors, and kept the house to themselves five days, till they had taken everything away; and then they returned her the key, to go into her house again, where she found nothing but the bare walls.

“Four days after I had been in the dungeon, my fetters were taken off, and I was examined by the commissioner of the Inquisition who had taken me up. He asked me whether I had any effects besides those found in my house, and whether anybody owed me any money, which he bid me tell him, and said I must go to the Inquisition at Granada. I begged of him to let me be examined at Malaga, and to tell me what I was taken up for. He told me I should hear that at Granada. Then I desired him, for God's sake, to let me see my wife and children before I went; but he told me it could not be done. The next morning, having two pairs of fetters on, I was mounted upon a mule, and so led out of town, the people crying out after me, ‘Go to Granada to be burnt, you are a Jew, you are an English heretic,’ huzzaing and making scoff at me. Thus I was conducted out of Malaga, without having the liberty to see my family, or any room to believe that I should ever see them any more.

“ * * * When I arrived at Granada, the carrier made me stay at an inn till such time as it was almost dark; for they put nobody in the Inquisition by daylight. He asked me if I would not write to my wife, which I did; but could perceive by his discourse that the letter was to go to the Inquisition, and my wife never received it. When night came, I was carried to the holy office of the

Inquisition, as they call it. The first thing the gaol-keeper did was to take off my fetters, which eased me very much. Then I was led up one pair of stairs, along some galleries ; where coming to a door, the gaol-keeper opened it, and then opened a grated door, and led me into a dungeon, and remained with me till such time as the under gaol-keeper fetched a lamp, and the things that the carrier had brought, which were, an old bed, a few cast-off clothes, and a box full of books. I desired the gaol-keeper to let me have some of them to read, but he nailed the box up, and told me that they must go to the lords of the holy office, and that there were no books allowed there. I was very sorry to see them, for there happened to be two which were books of controversy.

“After the gaol-keeper had searched me, and taken the money my friend had given me, he took a pen and ink, and wrote down what the carrier brought, and asked me what the buttons of my roquelaire were of, and the buttons of my coat. I told him, some were gold, and some were silver. He bid me count them exactly, both great ones and small ones, took my rings off my fingers, and an exact account of every rag that I had, and writ them all down, as if I was making my will ; then told me I was in a holy place, and that there was nothing lost there ; that I should have them all again when I went out. After that he asked me if I had no private arms, nor no money hid about me, telling me I must declare, on pain of two hundred lashes if I did not ; to which I answered I was an English-

man, and that we never carried private arms about us. Then he asked me what religion I was of. I told him I was a protestant. 'What! then you are no Christian,' said he. 'Yes I am, though you do not reckon me so,' said I. But he answered, 'You are not right Christians, you are heretics,' and after having asked my name and several frivolous questions, to which I answered, he begun thus: 'You must observe a great silence here, as if you were dead; you must not speak, nor whistle, nor sing, nor make any noise that can be heard; if you hear any body cry, or make a noise, you must be still and say nothing, upon pain of two hundred lashes.'

"That day se'nnight that I was put into the Inquisition, the gaol-keeper bid me get myself clean, for I must go to audience. I asked him whom I must go before? He replied, You must go before the lords of the holy tribunal, to be examined. I told him it was very well, and desired him to send for a barber to shave me. But he answered, there were no barbers allowed but three times a year. I went along with him, and he would hardly allow me to take my periwig on my head. Coming into a room, I found two men, one sitting between two crucifixes, and the other at his left hand, with a pen, ink, and paper before him. He was the secretary, and a young man. My lord was an old man, of about sixty years of age, looked like a lean Jesuit, and was the chief of the three lords inquisitors. He bid me sit down on a little stool, that was there on purpose, which fronted him; so that there was a table between him and me, and a crucifix in the

middle of it that fronted me. And then he began to speak to me, with a great deal of gravity.

INQUISITOR.—What was you brought here for? How came you here? Can you speak Spanish?

MARTIN.—My lord, I do not know what I was brought here for. I can speak Spanish, but not so well as English or French. If you please to send for an Irish or French priest, I should be glad, for I am afraid that I have not Spanish enough to answer your lordship in some things you may demand of me.

INQUISITOR.—I find you speak Spanish enough. What have you done? What is your name? What countryman are you? What religion are you of?

MARTIN.—My lord, I do not know what I have done. My name is Isaac Martin. I am an Englishman, and a protestant.

INQUISITOR.—Will you take an oath that you will answer the truth to what shall be demanded of you?

MARTIN.—Yes, I will, my lord.

INQUISITOR.—Well, put your hand on that crucifix, and swear by the cross.

MARTIN.—My lord, we swear upon Scripture.

INQUISITOR.—It is no matter for Scripture; put your hand upon the cross."

Martin swore by the cross; after which the inquisitor questioned him as to the birth of his father and mother, their relations, &c., as well as upon his religious belief. Among other things, he asked him whether he had been confirmed; to which Martin replied that he did not know whether he had or not.

"INQUISITOR.—Isaac, you have been brought up in the dark. It is a pity; but you may enlighten yourself, if you will.

MARTIN.—My lord, I hope I have light enough to save myself, if I live according to it. (His discourse being very long, and I very much troubled in mind, the tears came into my eyes; which he perceiving, spoke thus to me, very smoothly:)

INQUISITOR.—Dont cry, nor dont be afraid; there is nobody put to death here, nor no harm done to anybody. I hope your case is not so bad but it may be remedied. You are amongst Christians, and not among Turks.

MARTIN.—My lord, I know very well that I am among Christians, and that the laws of Christ are merciful; but I have been used as if I had committed murder.

INQUISITOR.—Well, have patience, you will have justice done you; you must think of what you have done or said during the time that you lived at Malaga, and confess it; for that is the only way to get out of your troubles. . . . You have been a great traveller, and very wild in your time.

MARTIN.—Yes, my lord, too wild; for if I had stayed at home as I ought to have done, I should not be in this misery as I am.

"After a few more questions on the subject of religion, the INQUISITOR said,—What! dont you worship the mother of God, and the saints that are always praying for us?

MARTIN.—No, my lord, we worship only one God in three persons, and nothing else.

INQUISITOR.—(To the secretary)—It is a pity that he has been brought up in heresy; he talks pretty well.

“Then he makes a long discourse to me, representing to me what a pity it is that England has left the true faith, and has embraced heresy; that formerly it produced a great many saints, but now it produced nothing but schisms and heresies; that our bishops and clergymen were a strange sort of people to marry as they did; and thus he ran on for a long while. To which I answered that I believed that England produced as many good men as ever it did; but he bid me hold my tongue, and told me I knew nothing of these affairs; bid me think of what I had done or said during my living at Malaga; that I should have time to think of it, and to think on what he had told me; bid me go to my dungeon, and he would send for me another time. To which I said,—My lord, I hope your lordship will consider that I have a family, and I beg that your lordship will despatch me as soon as possible.

INQUISITOR.—I will do all that I can to despatch you; go and think upon what you have done or said; I hope your case is not very bad, and can be remedied if you think on what I have said to you.

“It was a long audience, for it lasted about an hour and a half.

“When I came to my dungeon, I reflected on what had happened to me during my living at Malaga, and on what my lord had said to me. I found, by his discourse, that he was very well informed what

countryman I was, what family I had, what their names were, what religion I was of, where I had travelled, and what languages I could speak. As the gaol-keeper came mornings and nights to light my lamp, I desired him to tell me what he thought of my case, and how I must behave myself at audience. I made as much a friend of him as I could, in order to learn something of the ways practised in the Inquisition. But they are sworn to keep them secret, so that I could not learn much of him. He told me that I was there for the good of my soul; that the lords of the Inquisition were very merciful; that I must not be afraid, that there was nobody put to death there, nor no harm done to anybody; that the lords of the Inquisition demanded only a true confession; that he believed my case was but a small matter, that I could remedy easily; and advised me as a friend not to contradict them, but let them say what they pleased, for they were holy, just men.

“I thanked him for his advice, but found that my lord and he were both liars, in telling me that I had no occasion to fear, and that there was no harm done to anybody there; for I knew that in the Holy Office of the Inquisition, as they call it, they torture people, they whip them, they send them to the galleys, they burn them alive, without anybody daring to find fault, though it should happen to their own relations, upon pain of being put there themselves if the Inquisition should hear of it; for they pretend to be as infallible as the Pope in their way of justice, and whatever they do is just; and the

king himself has nothing to do with them, for they are above him, and he is subject to the Inquisition."

At a subsequent audience, Martin was asked by the inquisitor, "Have you no inclination to be a good Christian, and to be in the right way of salvation? You are a man of age and reason, and have a family; it is time to think of your soul.

MARTIN.—My lord, I hope God will save me in the religion that I have been brought up in. I have no inclination to change my religion. Jesus Christ allows of no persecution. I hope, my lord, there is none here.

INQUISITOR.—No, Isaac, it is all voluntary. I would have you think on it, for the good of your soul, and of your family. Do you not believe in the holy father the Pope, that he is infallible, and that he can absolve people from their sins?

MARTIN.—No, my lord, I believe that he is no more than another bishop, and can absolve no more than another clergyman can do.

INQUISITOR.—Do not you believe in purgatory?

MARTIN.—No, my lord, I believe in no such thing."

Martin had three more audiences, at all of which the inquisitor again endeavoured to persuade him to change his religion, but without success. He was then visited in his cell by the second inquisitor, for whose reception the dungeon was cleaned out, and a handful of anniseed thrown upon the fire. After the usual questions as to name, birth, &c., the inquisitor said, "'Hark ye, you have been brought up in heresy; its a pity. You were all good people and good

Christians in England till Henry VIII. came ; and that was your first loss ; then came Queen Elizabeth, and she was a very wicked woman, that everybody knows ; and here of late you have had one that you call King William ; he had no religion. What he aimed at was to get the crown ; and so you have been led away.' And thus he ran on a long while.

MARTIN. — My lord, I believe that King William lived and died as a good protestant Christian, and he received the sacrament from one of our bishops a little before he died.

INQUISITOR. — I am very well assured he had no religion, for I read it in a French book. And as for your bishops and clergymen, they are a strange sort of men, to marry, and live such lives as they do.

MARTIN. — My lord, I believe they live very well.

INQUISITOR. — Hold your tongue, you know no better. You are here for the good of your soul. Now is a very good time for you to renounce that heresy which you have been brought up in, and to become a good Christian, as your forefathers were. You have time to think of it ; there is nothing to disturb you. Do you say your prayers sometimes ?

MARTIN. — Yes, my lord, I say my prayers.

INQUISITOR. — Very well, you must pray to God to enlighten you in the true faith of the church of Rome, without which no man can be saved. It has been said that you are a Jew, but I do not believe it, though you look something like one ; but it does not go by looks always. It may be some of your relations formerly were Jews ?

MARTIN. — My lord, I never heard that any of

my relations were Jews ; as for my looks at present, I believe they are as like a Jew's as a Turk's. (Durst I to have spoken, I had told him that he looked like one ; for his lordship had a tallow, wainscoted look.)

INQUISITOR. — Well, think on what I have said to you for the good of your soul, and do not be hardened in your opinion, but believe that what I say is for your good. You Englishmen mind eating and drinking and your pleasures more than religion. And so he went away, and glad was I to be rid of his visit."

Some days after this, Martin had an audience, at which the Secretary read the accusations against him. They amounted shortly to this ; that Martin had scolded the schoolmaster who had the charge of his children, for teaching them the Roman Catholic religion ; that at various times he had neglected to pay proper deference to images ; that he had asserted that purgatory was but an invention of the church of Rome to get money ; that he had spoken against the Romish faith, and would allow neither himself nor his wife to be converted to it ; that he was *always making game of the religion of the church of Rome* ; that he had offered to dispose of his house, and to retire from Malaga, for fear of being arrested by the Inquisition, &c., &c. The total number of the accusations was twenty-six ; but the same charges were frequently most perseveringly repeated, sometimes three or four times. To the charges Isaac answered straightforwardly, and defended his conduct very ably. His judge then appointed an advo-

cate to defend him ; but this, as we have before had occasion to remark, was but a nominal privilege, for honest Isaac was actually ignorant of the appointment having been made, until he said to the inquisitor, " Your lordship told me that I should have a lawyer to defend my cause.

INQUISITOR.—So you have had one, Isaac ; did you not see him ?

MARTIN.—My lord, there was a man that you called a lawyer ; but he never spoke to me, nor I to him. If all your lawyers are so quiet in this country, they are the quietest that are in the world ; for he hardly said anything but *Yea* and *Nay* to what your lordship said.

INQUISITOR.—Hold, Isaac, the lawyers are not allowed to speak here. He has writ to Malaga for you, and has done what should be done in your case. You do not understand this way of justice.

MARTIN.—It is very true, I do not understand it at all.

"The secretary and the gaol keeper were forced to go out of the dungeon to laugh, and the two lords smiled to hear me talk as I did ; and I scarce knew how to keep my countenance, to think what a lawyer I had got to defend my cause, who was not allowed to speak to me, nor I to him."

After he had undergone confinement for some time longer, he was taken through the streets to a church, and was placed opposite the altar, to have his accusations and sentence read.

The accusations were read in full, but little or nothing of the defence of the accused, except

that he denied every thing, and had refused to embrace the true faith. Then followed the sentence, "that for these crimes of which he stands convicted, the lords of the holy office have ordered him to be banished of our Christian dominions, upon pain of two hundred lashes, and five years galleys, if ever he returns to any of our Christian parts; and have given orders that he shall receive two hundred lashes through the common streets of this city," Martin was then sent back to his dungeon, upon reaching which, he asked his gaoler whether he would have to receive the two hundred lashes; to which the gaoler replied that he believed the prisoner could escape them by a change of religion. But Martin manfully answered, that, since he had endured so much, he would let them do as they chose, for he would not change; so that when he was at liberty, he might live in his own religion.

"Next morning, about ten of the clock, I was brought down stairs, and as I was there, in came the executioner with some ropes and a whip. He bid me take off my coat, waistcoat, wig, and cravat. As I was taking off my shirt, he bid me let it alone; he would manage that. He slipped my body through the collar, and tied it about my waist; then took a rope and tied my hands together, put another about my neck, and led me out of the Inquisition, where there were numerous crowds of people, waiting to see an English heretic. I was no sooner out than a priest read my sentence at the door. The sentence being read, the executioner mounted me upon an ass, and led me in the streets; the people huzza-

ing, and crying out, 'An English heretic; look at the English heretic, who is no christian!' and pelting me. The crier of the city walked before me, and repeating aloud the sentence that was read at the door of the Inquisition, the executioner whipping me as I went along, and a great many people on horseback in ceremonial robes, with white wands, and halberts, following us.

"As we passed along by the market-place, the people pelting incommoded me very much. I thought I should be knocked off the ass. I spoke aloud, and asked them, what country I was in? They cried out, 'A christian country.' To which I replied. 'Those ways are practised in Barbary, and not among Christians. I am a Christian as well as you are; if I have deserved to be chastised, I am in the justice's hand; let him do it, and not you.' A great many people of the better sort, said that I was in the right, and the pelting ceased in a great measure; and a great many would hinder others from throwing at me, and bid me have patience. I thanked them very kindly, and told them, 'Thank God, I have patience.' They were surprised to hear me talk Spanish, and pitied me very much."

After the whipping was over, Martin was kept in his cell for about a fortnight; he was then informed that he was to get ready to leave the holy office, for the carrier would take charge of him, and conduct him to Malaga, where he would remain in prison till a ship could be found in which he could leave the country. He was also told that his

money would now be returned to him, and his effects on his arrival at Malaga. "When I came down stairs into an office, a priest gave me the money my friend had given me, and began to tell me it was a pity such a man as I was blind, and led away in heresy; that I was certainly damned without remission, if I remained as I was; and so he run on. When I got my money, I made him a short compliment; told him that I was not blind, and that I was a Christian, as well as he, but did not damn any body; that I was forbid to talk about religion, or else I would give him an answer; so I made him a low bow, and went away with the carrier, with a great deal of joy." Martin soon arrived at Malaga, and was placed with malefactors in prison. He saw his wife, and by her means succeeded in getting on board an English ship, that he might leave the prison. He had hardly been on board five or six hours when a rupture happened between England and Spain, and the ship was taken. He was, however, not treated as a prisoner of war, as the Inquisition would not allow him to stay in the country. He was sent on board a Hamburg ship, and so left Spain. His wife had applied for the restoration of their effects, but with little result; a small portion only was recovered, and as threats were held out, Martin thought it better to submit to the loss, than run any more risk. He therefore got his wife and children on board with him, and set sail. He afterwards found that the officials of the Inquisition gave out that they had returned him all his effects.

The escape of Archibald Bower, from the Inquisition of Macerata, (of which he was a counsellor,) in the year 1726, created at the time a considerable sensation. Bower was a Scotchman, whose parents, being Roman Catholics, sent him, when five year's of age, to an uncle in Italy, where he was educated, and where he soon evinced so much learning, that he was appointed Professor of Rhetoric and Logic, in the college of Macerata. Here he became acquainted with the Inquisitor General of the holy office, and found that the council of the Inquisition consisted of twelve members, and the Inquisitor General, who was president. Each of these had a salary of about £200 per annum, besides being provided with residences in the house of the Inquisition. The counsellors enjoyed most extensive privileges, one of which was, that, however enormous might be the crimes which they committed, none of them could be arrested without the consent of the Inquisitor General. All trials took place at night, and *in full court*. In the event of the absence of any of the Inquisitors, or counsellors, (and none could be absent without leave from the Inquisitor General,) his place had to be filled up. On an information being tendered, the question was put as to whether the imputed crime was one which ought to be taken cognisance of by the holy office. If four counsellors objected to the information, the Inquisitor General was compelled to disclose the evidence, and the name of the informer; and if after that it was determined to proceed against the party, one of the counsellors was named, and he had to

arrest him at dead of night, lock him up, and deliver the key of the prison to the Inquisitor General next morning. A week was allowed to elapse before the trial; then the accused was brought before his judges, a notary on one side to write down all he said, and a surgeon on the other to ascertain that the torture was not proceeded with too far. The tortures described by Bower were four, the first was very similar to that of the pulley, which we have before described: the second was by means of an instrument somewhat like an anvil, fixed in the middle of the floor, with a spike, not very sharp, projecting upwards. The accused had ropes from the four corners of the room, attached to his hands and feet, and he was hoisted up, and then lowered till his back bone rested on the iron spike. The weight of his body tended, of course, to fracture his spine. This torture lasted eleven hours, unless the prisoner confessed the crime laid to his charge. The third and fourth tortures were not so severe, and were applied only to women. Matches of tow and pitch were wrapped round the hands, and then set on fire till the hands were consumed; or cords were tied so tightly round the thumbs, as to cause the blood to spirt from beneath the nails.

Mr. Bower, while professor in the college, was informed by the Inquisitor General that, one of his council being ill, he intended, on receiving notice of his death, to appoint Mr. Bower to the vacant office; a preferment which he was extremely glad of. On the death of the counsellor, he was duly installed, and then received a book of directions for Inquisi-

tors. This was in manuscript; it being considered unsafe to have it printed; and each member of the council was possessed of a copy. On the occasion of removal to a higher office, or in the event of serious indisposition, a member of the council had to send his directory to the Inquisitor General, with the Inquisition seal affixed, after which, it was death to any one to open or retain it.

On receiving this book, Mr. Bower took it home, and commenced its perusal. He was confounded, on finding that the rules contained in it were more barbarous and inhuman than could have been conceived; but for a time he flattered himself that they were so severe that they could not be observed, until experience proved the contrary. His attendance at the trials in the holy office was most agonising to him, and he frequently gave vent to his feelings of horror, by unguarded exclamations. It is singular that these exclamations never gave his coadjutors cause to suspect him, though on one occasion the Inquisitor General remarked, with great warmth, and striking the table with his hand, "Mr. Bower, you always object to the evidence;" which was the fact. On another occasion, it was Mr. Bower's turn to sit by the side of a prisoner during the torture. While looking on the wretched victim's face, he fancied he saw the signs of death in it, and fainted away. He was taken from his seat and carried out; and on his return the Inquisitor General said to him, "Mr. Bower, take your place. You do not reflect that what is done to the body is for the good of the soul, or you would not faint thus." Mr. Bower re-

plied that it was the weakness of his nature, and he could not help it. "Nature!" said the Inquisitor; "you must conquer nature by grace." Mr. Bower promised that he would endeavour, and the poor man dying at that moment under his torments, the conversation concluded.

Mr. Bower now contemplated his escape, and his design was confirmed by the Inquisitor General having required him,—in order that he might "conquer nature,"—to arrest a nobleman with whom Bower was on terms of the most intimate friendship. This nobleman was one day walking out with a friend, when two friars passed, their heads and feet bare, and wearing the garb of their order. When they had passed, and were out of hearing as he thought, he expressed his surprise that any one should be so infatuated as to believe that such a particular dress should be meritorious in the sight of God. The friars heard the remark, and denounced him to the Inquisition. Bower was now ordered to arrest the only friend he had in Macerata, and it may be easily imagined how poignant his feelings must have been. When the Inquisitor General told him that he was to execute the warrant, he remonstrated, saying, "My lord, you know the connexion——" But the inquisitor sternly interrupted him, saying, "Connexion! what! talk of *connexion* when the holy faith is concerned?" and rising up to go away, he added, "See that it be done; the guards shall wait without." As he passed him, he added, "This is the way to conquer nature, Mr. Bower!" Bower thought of means by which he

might save his friend, but found that they were all futile. He could not refuse to go, for that would injure himself, without benefiting his friend; and he dare not attempt to give him previous notice, for the guards were without and would have detected him. He had therefore to proceed with the guards to his friend's house. He knocked at the door, and a servant maid, looking out of a window, asked who was there? "The Holy Inquisition: come down and open the door, without waking any body, or making the least noise, on pain of excommunication." The girl, in her night-dress, came down in great trepidation, and showed the party to her master's bedroom, although, from the intimacy which Bower enjoyed, he was quite well acquainted with the way. The nobleman and his lady were both asleep when they entered the room. The lady awoke first, and, on seeing them, shrieked. One of the ruffians immediately gave her a blow on the head, which caused the blood to flow; an act for which Bower reprimanded him, and afterwards had him punished. The astonishment of the nobleman, on finding himself arrested by his best friend, was extreme; but he did not reproach him for the act. Bower, on the other hand, dared not to look at his friend while executing his commission.

Next morning, on announcing the arrest, and handing over the key of the prison, Bower was thus addressed by the Inquisitor General:—"This is done like one who is desirous to conquer the weakness of nature." The nobleman underwent the first torture mentioned in this narrative, namely, that of

the pulleys, and died three days after the infliction. His estate was confiscated to the holy office, a small pension being allowed to his widow, and a further small sum for her child, if she should prove to be pregnant. The Inquisitor General wrote a note to the widow, desiring her to pray for the soul of her late husband, and warning her not to complain of the Holy Inquisition as capable of any injustice or cruelty.

Bower was now determined at all hazards to escape from this thralldom; but the difficulties to be overcome were very great, and required great courage to meet and surmount them. Having decided on his plan, which was to get out of the Pope's jurisdiction as soon as possible, by taking the bye roads through the Adriatic States into Switzerland, he begged permission of the Inquisitor General to make a pilgrimage to Loretto, which he had not visited for a long time. The required leave being at once granted, he concealed his valuable papers and his Inquisitor's Directory in the lining of his clothes, fastened his portmanteau on his horse's back, and started.

It is not our intention to narrate Bower's proceedings at full length. We shall merely state that he found, before he had accomplished much of his journey, that the Inquisitor General had missed the papers which Bower had taken with him, and had ascertained his escape. He therefore offered a reward, equal to about £800 British, to any one who should carry him alive to the Inquisition, or £600 for his head. The proclamation of this reward made

his position most precarious. He at one time, having been nearly starved by traveling in bye roads, was compelled to enter the highroad, and put up for a short time at a post house. Here he saw a copy of the proclamation relating to himself; and being compelled to enter a room where two countrymen were, he was, in spite of his concealing his face, recognised by one of them, who remarked to another, "This gentleman does not care to be known." Bower, seeing that it was necessary to act boldly, turned round upon him, saying, "You rascal! what do you mean? What have I done, that I need fear to be known? Look at me, you villain!" The man made no reply, but winked significantly to his companion, and left the house. Bower watched them from a window, and in a few minutes saw them in close conference with three or four more. Not a moment was to be lost. With one pistol in his hand and another in his sleeve, he walked to the stable, mounted his horse, and rode off. Luckily for him, the men wanted presence of mind, and did not attempt to molest him. After many adventures, and several times being in danger of starvation, in consequence of keeping in obscure paths to avoid the dangers by which he was beset, he arrived at Calais. At the inn where he put up, he was shewn into a room in which were two Jesuits, (who wore the red cross of the Inquisition,) and several of the police. He abruptly left the room, and hastened to the quay, enquiring when the packet for England would leave? He was distressed to find that it would not sail for three days. He asked a fisher-

man to carry him over in his small boat, but the man said it was too perilous, and he would not undertake it. Bower returned disconsolate to his inn, and finding the room empty in which he had left the Jesuits, he enquired of the landlady what had become of them? She replied, "Oh, sir! I am sorry to tell you, but they are up stairs searching your portmanteau." He did not know how he could escape. He could not do so by water; nor could he pass the gates, as the guards were no doubt prepared to intercept him; and his knowledge of the walls and of the town was too slight to give him any hopes of scaling the former during the night, even if he succeeded in secreting himself till that time. While he was distractedly thinking of his wretched position, and of the slight chance he had of escape, he heard some company laughing and talking very loud. He listened at the door, and finding that the language spoken was one which he did not understand, he concluded that the party was English. He entered the room, and recollecting the face of one of the company, Lord Baltimore, whom he had seen at Rome, he requested a word in private with him. The surprise occasioned by his sudden appearance, and the determined air with which he spoke, was not lessened by his having a cocked pistol in his hand. He was requested to lay it down, and did so, begging pardon for not having done so previously. He was then told of the other pistol in his sleeve, which he likewise laid down. When Lord Baltimore was assured that he carried no more arms, he retired with Bower, who immediately ex-

plained his circumstances to him, and begged his protection. He replied, "Mr. Bower, you are undone, and I cannot protect you; they are above, searching your apartment." But on second thoughts he returned to his friends, and proposed that they should all walk down to their boat, with Bower concealed as well as possible in the middle; which, being agreed to, they left the inn together, and reached the boat. Four pairs of oars soon placed them alongside a yacht, in which the party were taking a short cruise; and the wind being fair, they soon reached Dover, where Bower was safely landed.

Such in substance is the narrative of Bower. That it is in all respects true, it would be rash to assert, for contradictions of particular parts of it were published soon after his arrival in England. As, however, those contradictions appear to have been published by personal enemies attached to the Roman Catholic faith (from which Bower had seceded on his arrival in England), and were, moreover, extremely inconsistent, while Bower's own narrative was straightforward, consistent, and probable, it is not too much to assume that his statement of his appointment to the Inquisition of Macerata, and his subsequent escape, is in the main facts correct. The reports which were at the time prevalent, as to his seduction of a nun at Macerata, and as to his scandalous conduct in England, would indeed tend to throw discredit on the narrative; but Bower, in the course of a paper war with his enemies, fully vindicated his character from the aspersions which had been cast upon it. Besides this, the society which

he frequented in England, during a residence of between thirty and forty years after his escape, his publication of a work entitled "*Historia Literaria*," (to which he was himself a large contributor,) as well as a voluminous "*History of the Popes*," in seven volumes, and his connexion (as editor and contributor) with the publication of the "*Universal History*," induce us to discredit these reports, and to believe that he was a man of blameless life and good repute.

We shall now relate something of the sufferings of John Coustos, who was imprisoned by the Inquisition of Lisbon, in 1743, for the pretended crime of freemasonry. Coustos was a native of Berne, in Switzerland, and while a boy he accompanied his father to London, where he lived for twenty-two years. He was a lapidary by trade, and went to Paris to work in the galleries of the Louvre. He afterwards determined to proceed to Brazil, and went to Lisbon that he might obtain the necessary permission. This being refused, he remained at Lisbon in the pursuit of his calling, and, being held in respect by those whose society he enjoyed, was entrusted with the management of the affairs of the freemasons' lodge to which he belonged. This led to his apprehension by the Inquisition. One night, on leaving a coffee-house with some friends, he was seized by nine officers of the Inquisition, forced into a small closed chaise, and carried to the prisons of the holy office. After being searched, and deprived of all the money and weapons he had about him, he was thrust into a cell. In a few days he was led

before the president and four inquisitors, who commanded him to swear, with his right hand on the Bible, that he would reply truly to all questions asked him. After the usual inquiries as to his name, parentage, &c., had been made, he was exhorted to confession, and was sent back to his dungeon that he might examine his conscience. At his next examination, three days after, he was interrogated respecting the masonic society of which he was a member; and he gave them a lengthy account of its origin, constitution, and objects. As he was not prepared to admit that his being a freemason was objectionable, nor to abjure his religion, (for he was a sturdy protestant,) he was sent to a dungeon far more uncomfortable than that in which he had hitherto been lodged. Here he remained seven weeks, in the course of which time he was taken thrice before the inquisitors. On one of these occasions he was required to swear that he would not divulge the secrets of the holy office. He took the oath, and kept it by publishing, in 1746, a full account of the matter, after his release. He was required, also, to divulge the secrets of freemasonry; and on his refusal to do so, in consequence of an oath which he had taken, he was told that his judges would absolve him from it. As he declined accepting their kind offer, they determined, after one or two more audiences, that he should be tortured. He had the charges against him read, and defended himself by replying to them in writing. At his next audience, the Inquisitor General was present. He was asked whether he had any other arguments to

justify himself, and having replied that he had not, he was remanded. Being again sent for, he had a paper read to him, in which he was doomed to the torture, for not discovering the secrets of freemasonry, and not divulging the real objects of the association. He was conveyed to the torture-room, built like a square tower, with no light except that afforded by two candles. To prevent the cries and shrieks of the tortured prisoners from penetrating beyond the apartment, the doors were lined with felt. Six attendants stripped Coustos of all except his drawers, laid him on his back on a platform or scaffold, fastened his neck to it by means of an iron collar, attached two rings to his feet, and then stretched his limbs with all their strength. They then wound two ropes, of the size of a little finger, round each arm and leg, and made them pass under the scaffold through holes made on purpose. On a signal being given, these ropes were all at once drawn tight, and cut through the flesh to the bone, making the blood gush from the wounds. As he persisted in his refusal to divulge more than he had already done, this torture was repeated four different times, the surgeon interfering every now and then to let him have a few minutes to recover himself. While undergoing the torture, the judges told him that if he should die in consequence of its being inflicted, he would, by his obstinacy, be guilty of self murder. The loss of blood and the acute pain at length caused him to faint away, and he was removed to his dungeon.

Six weeks afterwards, he was again tortured.

Being made to stretch his arms out so that the palms of his hands were turned outwards, his wrists were fastened with a cord behind him, and a machine gradually drew his hands together till the backs of them touched. By this operation, which was thrice repeated, his shoulders were dislocated, and a considerable quantity of blood was forced from his mouth. When it was over, he was taken to his dungeon, and his bones were set by the surgeons; an operation which caused exquisite pain. Two months after this, he was again taken to the torture-room. The executioners passed twice round his body a thick iron chain, which crossed on his stomach, and terminated in rings attached to his wrists. He was then placed against a thick partition, at each end of which was a pulley; ropes were run through these, and attached to the rings on his wrists, the other ends being wound round a roller, which was tightened gradually. As the ropes were drawn tighter, the chain bruised his stomach, and the operation was proceeded with so far that his shoulders and wrists were put out of joint. These being re-set, the same torture was inflicted, and with a similar result. He was then conveyed to his apartment, where he lay till the *auto da fé*, unable for weeks to lift his hand to his mouth, most of his limbs having been so dislocated and bruised, that he had lost the use of them.

At the *auto da fé*, Coustos was made to walk in procession, and was sentenced to four year's servitude with the galley slaves. In four days he was set to work, but became sick, and was then sent to

the infirmary, where he remained two months. During his illness, he was visited by Irish friars, who offered him his release if he would forsake the protestant and adopt the catholic religion ; but he indignantly refused. He himself, however, made efforts to effect his release, and at length, by means of the British minister at Lisbon, he was demanded as a British subject, and the Inquisition commuted his sentence to banishment from the country. He was told that he must not embark for England, without informing the holy office of the vessel by which he intended to sail ; but he ventured to do so, and had a hue and cry raised, which compelled him to lie snugly on board ship, for the three weeks the vessel lay at Lisbon, before sailing.

Coustos arrived in England, in December, 1744, and published his narrative a year or so after. There is no doubt of the general correctness of the relation of his sufferings, nor does he appear to exaggerate the facts relating to his torture, though the egotism which evidently animated him may lead some to make allowances.

Ferdinand VI. ascended the throne of Spain on the death of Philip in 1746, and reigned till 1759. The Inquisitors General during this period were, Don Francisco del Prado, who held the office when Ferdinand commenced his reign ; and Don Manuel Bonifaz, who was appointed about 1757.

The improvement in the arts, sciences, and literature of Spain, which we noticed as having begun during the reign of Philip, continued during that of his successor, and the taste which the Spaniards

began to evince for literature soon had the effect of destroying, to some extent, their veneration and awe for institutions which they had hitherto been taught to reverence, and of diffusing information on questions the solution of which they had previously entrusted to the learned men of the time. In fact they were now beginning to think for themselves; and although the result was not immediate, and did not shew itself even for years, the movement had begun, and was certain of one day making itself felt. The Inquisition began to be looked upon, not only by the lower orders, but by the higher classes and the court, as neither more nor less than a huge usurpation, which was intended for the joint benefit of the secular and ecclesiastical powers, but which had, whenever it suited its purpose, thrown off its allegiance to both, and had to some extent deprived the Pope of his spiritual subjects, while it had nearly ruined Spain by its depopulating influence. The number of *autos da fé* now began to diminish, and during Ferdinand's reign, no *public*, and only thirty-four *private* ones were celebrated. Fewer trials for returns to Judaism were held; but perhaps this arose less from the increased intelligence of the age, than from the fact that so many Jews had been persecuted and burned in previous reigns, that few of the race now remained. Ten persons only were relaxed (*i.e.*, burnt at the stake), and 170 subject to penances.

The year 1747 was marked by another attempt to introduce the Inquisition into Naples. It appears that Cardinal Spinelli, archbishop of this city, in his

zeal for the true faith, thought it necessary that the holy office should be established; and he proceeded to appoint officers, and actually built prisons, which he furnished with the diabolical instruments of torture usually found in these places. He issued four processes, one against a layman, and three against ecclesiastics, and was about to have them enforced, when some intimation of his proceedings reached the Council of the Holy Office, which, as we have already stated, in another part of this volume, was established to prevent the introduction of the Inquisition. This body, thoroughly alive to the dangers which threatened their fellow citizens, immediately presented a memorial to the king, in which they communicated the information they had received, and requested him to take measures to suppress the attempt. A communication from the king to the cardinal, informing him of the complaints against him, and ordering him to put a stop to the four processes, caused his plans to be frustrated; but he cleverly attempted to alter the processes, so that they might appear to have been issued in the usual manner; at the same time assuring the king that he had not the slightest intention to organise the tribunal of the holy office. This assertion not being satisfactory, the king commissioned the counsellor Froggianni, a man of great learning and resolution, to examine the processes, and render a report on the subject. From a most careful perusal of the documents relating to the matter, it was found that the Inquisition was actually established within the city. On this being proved beyond all doubt, a great com-

motion occurred in the city, the populace refusing to receive the usual benediction of the archbishop, and insulting him as he proceeded through the streets. The king ordered that the processes should be preserved in the royal registry, as a lesson for posterity; that the cardinal should surrender the keys of the prisons he had erected; that the prisons themselves should be utterly demolished, and the inscription, "Holy Office," destroyed; that the cardinal should be most severely reprimanded; and that the officers he had appointed should be banished from the kingdom. He likewise framed some regulations for the future trial of the crimes which the pretended holy office was to have taken cognizance of. These acts gave the citizens of Naples the most lively satisfaction, which they testified by presenting the king with a free gift of 300,000 ducats, as a token of their joy and gratitude.

Judaism having now failed in providing victims for the tribunal, freemasonry was more than ever pounced upon, and although the subject, spiritually considered, would hardly offer such a field for the sagacity of the inquisitors, we must admit that they got up their cases with great tact and ingenuity.

Freemasonry was a subject entirely new to the Inquisition, for the first bull which was fulminated against those guilty of it, appears to have been published only in 1738. In this document, Clement XII. excommunicated all freemasons, and Philip, in 1740, followed up the blow, by publishing a royal ordinance against them. In 1739, the punishment of death was decreed against them, by

the Cardinal Vicar of Rome, in the name of the High Priest of the God of peace and mercy! The holy office was, in many cases, most severe with those who were convicted of the crime; but Ferdinand, in 1751, went a step further than his predecessor had done, by declaring that those who did not conform to the regulations contained in an ordinance which he published against freemasons, would be punished as state criminals, guilty of *high treason*. As a specimen of the examinations to which they were subject in the holy office, we subjoin some account of the trial of M. Tournon, which took place at Madrid, in 1757.

M. Tournon was a Frenchman, who had been invited into Spain, and pensioned by the government, in order to establish a manufactory of brass or copper buckles, and to instruct Spanish workmen. On the 30th April, 1757, he was denounced to the holy office, as suspected of heresy, by one of his pupils, who acted in obedience to the commands of his confessor.

The charges were—1st. That M. Tournon had asked his pupils to become freemasons, promising that the *Grand Orient* of Paris should send a commission to receive them into the order, if they should submit to the trials he should propose, to ascertain their courage and firmness; and that their titles of reception should be expedited from Paris. 2nd. That some of these young workmen appeared inclined to comply, if M. Tournon would inform them of the object of the institution. That in order to satisfy them, he told them several

extraordinary things, and shewed them a sort of picture, on which were figured iustruments of architecture and astronomy. They thought that these representations related to sorcery, and they were confirmed in the idea, on hearing the imprecations which, according to M. Tournon, were to accompany the oath of secrecy.

It appeared, from the depositions of three witness, that M. Tournon was a freemason. He was arrested and imprisoned on the 20th May. The following conversation, which took place in the first audience of *monition*, may be interesting to some readers. After asking his name, birthplace, and his reason for coming to Spain, and making him swear to speak the truth, the Inquisitor proceeded:—

Do you know or suppose why you have been arrested by the holy office?—I suppose it is for having said that I was a freemason.

Why do you suppose so?—Because I have informed my pupils that I was of that order, and I fear that they have denounced me, for I have perceived lately, that they speak to me with an air of mystery, and their questions lead me to believe that they think me an heretic.

Did you tell them the truth?—Yes.

You are, then, a freemason?—Yes.

How long have you been so?—For twenty years.

Have you attended the assemblies of freemasons?

—Yes, at Paris.

Have you attended them in Spain?—No; I do not know if there are any lodges in Spain.

Are you a Christian, a Roman Catholic?

Yes; I was baptised in the parish of St. Paul, at Paris.

How as a Christian can you dare to attend masonic assemblies, when you know, or ought to know, that they are contrary to religion?—I did not know that; I am ignorant of it at present, because I never saw or heard anything there which was contrary to religion.

How can you say that, when you know that freemasons profess *indifference* in matters of religion, which is contrary to the article of faith, which teaches us that no man can be saved who does not profess the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman religion?—The freemasons do *not* profess that *indifference*. But it is *indifferent* if the person received into the order be a catholic or not.

Then the freemasons are an *anti-religious* body?—That cannot be, for the object of the institution is not to combat or deny the necessity or utility of any religion, but for the exercise of charity towards the unfortunate of any sect, particularly if he is a member of the society.

One proof that *indifference* is the religious character of freemasons is, that they do not acknowledge the *Holy Trinity*, since they only confess one God, whom they call *The great Architect of the Universe*, which agrees with the doctrine of the heretical philosophers, who say that there is no true religion but *natural religion*, in which the existence of God the Creator only is allowed, and the rest considered as a human invention. And as M. Tournon has confessed himself to be of the Catholic

religion, he is required, by the respect he owes to our saviour Jesus Christ, true God and man, and to his blessed mother the Virgin Mary, our Lady, to declare the truth according to his oath, because, in that case he will acquit his conscience, and it will be allowable to treat him with that mercy and compassion which the holy office always shewed towards sinners who confess ; and if, on the contrary, he conceals any thing, he will be punished with all the severity of justice, according to the holy canons and the laws of the kingdom?—The mystery of the Holy Trinity is neither maintained nor combated in the masonic lodges : neither is the religious system of the natural philosophers approved or rejected. God is designated as the great architect of the universe, according to the allegories of the freemasons which relate to architecture. In order to fulfil my promise of speaking truth, I must repeat that in the masonic lodges, nothing takes place which relates to any religious system, and that the subjects treated of are foreign to religion, under the allegories of architectural works.

Do you believe, as a catholic, that it is a sin of superstition to mingle holy and religious things with profane things?—I am not sufficiently acquainted with the particular things which are prohibited as contrary to the purity of the Christian religion ; but I have believed till now, that those who confound the one with the other, either by mistake or a vain belief, are guilty of the sin of superstition.

Is it true, that in the ceremonies which accompany the reception of a mason, the crucified image

of a Saviour, the corpse of a man, and a skull, and other objects of a profane nature, are made use of?—The general statutes of freemasonry do not ordain these things; if they are made use of, it must have arisen from a particular custom, or from the arbitrary regulations of the members of the body, who are commissioned to prepare for the admission of candidates; for each lodge has particular customs and ceremonies.

That is not the question; say if it is true that these ceremonies are observed in masonic lodges?—Yes, or no, according to the regulations of those who are charged with the ceremonies of the initiation.

Were they observed when you were initiated?—No.

What oath is it necessary to take on being received a freemason?—We swear to observe secrecy.

On what?—On things which it may be inconvenient to publish.

Is this oath accompanied by execrations?—Yes.

What are they?—We consent to suffer all the evils which can afflict the body and soul, if we violate our oath.

Of what importance is this oath, since it is believed that such formidable execrations may be used without indecency?—That of good order in the society.

What passes in these lodges which it might be inconvenient to publish?—Nothing, if it is looked upon without prejudice; but as people are generally mistaken in this matter, it is necessary to avoid giving cause for malicious interpretations; and this

would take place, if what passes when the brothers assemble were made public.

Of what use is the crucifix, if the reception of a freemason is not considered a religious act?—It is presented to penetrate the soul with the most profound respect at the moment that the novice takes the oath. It is not used in every lodge, and only when particular grades are conferred.

Why is the skull used?—That the idea of death may inspire a horror of perjury.

Of what use is the corpse?—To complete the allegory of Hiram, architect of the temple of Jerusalem, who, it is said, was assassinated by traitors, and to induce a greater detestation of assassination and other offences against our neighbours, to whom we ought to be as benevolent brothers.

Is it true that the festival of St. John is celebrated in the lodges, and that the masons have chosen him for their patron?—Yes.

What worship is rendered him in celebrating his festival?—None; that it may not be mingled with profane things. This celebration is confined to a fraternal repast, after which a discourse is read, exhorting the guests to beneficence towards their fellow creatures, in honour of God, the great architect, creator, and preserver of the universe.

Is it true that the sun, moon, and stars are honoured in the lodges?—No.

Is it true that their images or symbols are exposed?—Yes.

Why are they so?—In order to elucidate the allegories of the great, continual, and true light,

which the lodges receive from the great architect of the world; and these representations belong to the brothers, and engage them to be charitable.

M. Tournon will observe that all the explanations he has given of the facts and ceremonies which take place in the lodges are false, and different from those which he communicated to other persons worthy of belief; he is, therefore, again invited, by the respect he owes to God and the Holy Virgin, to declare and confess the heresies of *indifferentism*, the errors of *superstition*, which mingle holy and profane things, and the errors of *idolatry*, which led him to worship the stars; this confession is necessary for the acquittal of his conscience and the good of his soul; because if he confesses with sorrow for having committed these crimes, detesting them, and humbly soliciting pardon (before the fiscal accuses him of these heinous sins), the holy tribunal will be permitted to exercise towards him that compassion and mercy which it always displays to repentant sinners; and because, if he is judicially accused, he must be treated with all the severity prescribed against heretics by the holy canons, apostolical bulls, and the laws of the kingdom.—I have declared the truth, and if any witnesses have deposed to the contrary, they have mistaken the meaning of my words; for I have never spoken on this subject to any but the workmen in my manufactory, and then only in the same sense conveyed by my replies.

Not content with being a freemason, you have persuaded other persons to be received into the order, and to embrace the heretical superstitions and pagan

errors into which you have fallen.—It is true that I have requested these persons to become freemasons, because I thought it would be useful to them if they travelled into foreign countries, where they might meet brothers of their order who could assist them in any difficulty; but it is not true that I engaged them to adopt any errors contrary to the catholic faith, since no such errors are to be found in freemasonry, which does not concern any points of doctrine.

It has been already proved that these errors are not chimerical; therefore let M. Tournon consider that he has been a dogmatising heretic, and that it is necessary he should acknowledge it with humility, and ask pardon and absolution for the censures which he has incurred; since, if he persists in his obstinacy, he will destroy both his body and his soul; and as this is the first audience of *monition*, he is advised to reflect on his condition, and prepare for the two other audiences, which are granted by the compassion and mercy which the holy tribunal always feels for the accused.

M. Tournon was taken back to the prison; he persisted in giving the same answers in the first and second audiences. The fiscal presented his act of accusation, which, according to custom, was divided into the articles similar to the charges of the witnesses. The accused confessed the facts, but explained them as he had done before. He was desired to choose an advocate, but he declined this, alleging that the Spanish lawyers were not acquainted with

the masonic lodges, and were as much prejudiced against them as the public. He, therefore, thought it better for him to acknowledge that he was wrong, and might have been deceived, from being ignorant of particular doctrines; he demanded absolution, and offered to perform any penance imposed on him, adding, that he hoped the punishment would be moderate, on account of the good faith which he had shewn, and which he had always preserved, seeing nothing but beneficence practised and recommended by the masonic lodges, without denying or combating any article of the catholic faith.

The fiscal consented to this arrangement, and M. Tournon was condemned to be imprisoned for one year, after which he was to be conducted under an escort to the frontiers of France; he was banished from Spain for ever, unless he obtained permission to return, from the king, or from the holy office. During the first month of his imprisonment, he was directed to perform spiritual exercises, and a general confession; to spend half an hour every morning in reading the Meditations on the Book of Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius de Loyola, and half an hour in the evening in reading the Considerations of Father John Eusebius Nieremberg, in his work on the *Difference between Temporal and Eternal*; to recite every day part of the Rosary of our Lady, and often to repeat the acts of faith, hope, charity, and contrition; to learn by heart the catechism of Father Astete, and to prepare himself to receive absolution, at Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost.

A private *auto da fé* was celebrated in the hall of the tribunal, in which M. Tournon appeared without the *san benito*, and signed his abjuration, with a promise never again to attend the assemblies of the freemasons. M. Tournon went to France, and it does not appear that he ever returned to Spain.

CHAPTER X.

ON the death of Ferdinand VI., in 1759, Charles III., his brother, ascended the throne, and reigned nearly thirty years. During this time, the inquisitors general were Bonifaz, (mentioned in last chapter,) Don Philip Bertran, and Don Augustin de Cavallos, Bishop of Jaen. These men, owing to their comparatively humane dispositions, as well as to the increase and diffusion of knowledge, and perhaps to a conviction that the exercise of a very little arbitrary authority might ensure the suppression of the holy office, caused its proceedings to be carried on with far less severity than had been usual; and although in such cases the humanity or fear of the heads of the tribunal do not always have their effect on the subordinates, it appears that during this reign the public *autos da fé* and penances were far less numerous, and much less cruel, than under previous administrations. It is not to be supposed, however, that the number of denunciations or trials was much reduced. They were still immensely numerous, but many were settled in the following manner, as Llorente states. The trials were "suspended before the decree of arrest was issued. The denounced was sometimes induced to repair to the tribunal, on pretext of business, and then informed of the charges

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against him; he replied to them, and returned home, after having promised to return a second time when summoned. Sometimes the proceedings were abridged, and the criminal was only condemned to a private penance, which might be performed without the knowledge of any person but the commissary of the tribunal. . . . Only 10 persons were condemned, (4 of whom were burnt,) and 56 individuals subjected to penances. All the other trials were terminated by individual *autos da fé*; the condemned was taken into a church to hear his sentence read, when it was confirmed by the supreme council, without waiting for other prisoners to form a particular *auto da fé*. Other trials were concluded by a lesser *auto da fé*, in the audience hall of the tribunal; another mode, which was the least severe, was to celebrate the *auto da fé* in the presence of the secretaries of the Inquisition alone; no greater indulgence than this could be shewn."

In 1767, the Jesuits were expelled from Spain, and their support of the Inquisition was removed, so that the progress of knowledge was great, and the influence of the holy office continued to decline. It would probably have continued in its downward course, and have been shortly suppressed, (for it is known that d' Aranda, the minister of Charles III., intended to abolish it,) had not an accident unfortunately extended the period of its existence. It is related by Coxe, in his History of the Kings of Spain, that Aranda, while in Paris, frequently expressed to the literati with whom he was associated, his resolution to obtain the abolition of the Inqui-

sition, should he ever be called to power. His appointment to the Spanish ministry was therefore exultingly hailed by the encyclopædists, particularly by d' Alembert; and he had scarcely begun his reforms before an article was inserted in the encyclopædia, then printing, in which this event was confidently anticipated, from the liberal principles of the minister. D' Aranda was struck on reading this article, and said, "This imprudent disclosure will raise such a ferment against me that my plans will be foiled." He was not mistaken: the ecclesiastics were on the alert, and he found it impossible then to abolish the holy office.

The feeling against the holy office, however, was evidently strengthening, as was proved by this circumstance: Charles III., in 1768, desirous of obtaining some information respecting the Jesuits, and matters relating to them, assembled a council of five archbishops and bishops. A report rendered by this body to the king contained severe remarks on the Inquisition, which we shall transcribe. Referring to the abuse of the power of prohibiting books, and to the clandestine introduction of two briefs, one relating to the Jesuits, the other concerning the affairs of the Duke of Parma, the report says, "The council is not ignorant of the intrigues employed by the nuncios with the Inquisition, to gain their ends by clandestine means. During the first fifteen centuries, there were no tribunals of the Inquisition in Spain. The bishops alone were acquainted with points of doctrine, and heretics and blasphemers were punished by civil law. The abuse of the pro-

hibition of books commanded by the Inquisition is one cause of the ignorance which prevails over the greatest part of this nation. . . . According to the bulls which created the holy office, the bishops are joint judges with the inquisitors, and sometimes the principal judges, in the affairs which depend on the tribunal. This power of the bishops was acquired by their rank, and their responsible office of pastors. Why, then, have these natural judges of all discussions which may arise on matters of faith and the morals of the faithful no part or influence in the prohibition of books and the choice of qualifiers? It is from this circumstance that the subject has been treated with a negligence which excites and perpetuates the complaints of learned men. . . . Supposing that the regulations of Benedict XIV. were not sufficiently clear, the same cannot be said of the brief of Innocent VIII., which commands the Inquisition to follow the rules of justice in their proceedings. Can there be anything more just than that the parties should be heard? Is it not opposed to the public interest, that books which might be useful in instructing the people should be prohibited from passion, or to gain some particular end? The fiscal could say too much, if he dwelt on this subject, to prove how much the tribunal has always abused its authority, in commanding the prohibition of doctrines which even Rome has not dared to condemn (such as the four propositions of the clergy of France); in supporting the indirect power of the court of Rome against that of kings; and, lastly, in sanctioning opinions equally reprehensible. It

might be proved that the tribunal has constantly favoured and encouraged the wickedness committed by certain ecclesiastics, who remain unmolested, contrary to the respect due to the king and his magistrates. The *regular priests of the Society of Jesus* have had the greatest influence in the holy office since the minority of Charles II., when the Jesuit Juan Everard Nitardo, confessor to the queen mother, was Inquisitor General. . . . The last Expurgatory Index, published in 1747, is still remembered. Cassani and Carrasco (both Jesuits,) so falsified and confused it, that it was a disgrace to the tribunal. The fact is so well known, and had such important consequences, that that circumstance alone furnished sufficient motive to suppress the Inquisition entirely, or at least to reform it, *since it only uses its authority to injure the state, and the purity of morals, and the Christian religion.* . . . It may be said that the Expurgatory Index drawn up in Spain is more injurious to the rights of the sovereign and the instruction of his subjects than that of Rome. In that court the qualifiers are well chosen, the prohibitions moderate, and the interests of individuals are never considered. . . . We cannot forbear to mention the memoir presented by Monsignor Bossuet to Louis XIV. against the Inquisitor General Rocaberti, on the subject of a decree of the Inquisition of Toledo, in which the doctrine refusing to the Pope the direct or indirect power of depriving sovereigns of their kingdoms is declared to be erroneous and schismatic. . . . The procurators cannot conceal from themselves

that the tribunals of the Inquisition compose the most fanatical body of the state, and the most attached to the Jesuits, who have been banished from the kingdom; that the inquisitors profess the same doctrines and the same maxims; lastly, that it is necessary to accomplish a reform in the Inquisition."

As a remedy for these abuses, the procurators proposed that the holy office should be compelled to hear the defence of the authors previous to the works being prohibited; that those works only should be condemned which contained errors in doctrine, superstition, or relaxed moral opinions; that it should particularly avoid prohibiting works written to defend the prerogatives of the crown; that it should not be allowed to seize or retain any unprohibited book on pretence of correcting or qualifying it, but should leave it in the proprietor's hands; that it should be compelled to present to the king the minutes of the decrees of prohibition previous to publication, and to the council of Castile all the briefs sent to it, in order that they might be submitted to his majesty for his approbation. These sensible recommendations were heartily approved of by men in power, but they do not appear to have been to any considerable extent adopted, though they induced the officers of the Inquisition to proceed more cautiously.

The trifling nature of some of the cases brought before the holy office about this time will be shewn by the following anecdote. About 1774, some French merchants at Cadiz, having received a consignment of shoe leather, were much alarmed by the officers of the Inquisition entering their houses.

Having demanded to see the leather lately received, and having observed the image of the holy virgin (the mark of the manufacturer) impressed on it, these officials loudly exclaimed against the profanation, remarking that, the leather being intended for shoes, the image of the holy mother of Christ ran the hazard of being trodden underfoot. The leather was confiscated, and the merchants, exceedingly alarmed, had the matter referred to the supreme council at Madrid, as well as to the court, through the intervention of their ambassador. These treated the complaint as it deserved, and ordered the inquisitors not to molest strangers on such slight pretexts; and the merchants recovered their leather, and had no further trouble in the matter.

To this case may be added the following anecdote, which is, however, so absurd, and exhibits the officers of the Inquisition in such a ridiculous light, that we have some hesitation in relating it. The rector of the university of Saragossa had certain officers, to arrest the students, and punish them, when they were guilty of any crime, or impropriety. One of these, named Guadalaxara, being very officious and troublesome to the students, became very obnoxious to them, and they therefore determined to play him a trick, which should cure him of his meddlesome disposition. They arranged that some of the strongest of their number should be at the bottom of the steeple of the university in the evening, and six of them in the belfry. The latter were to tie a lusty young student by a rope, and lower him down to those below, on the word *War* being given. The time being arrived,

the students who were below commenced a quarrel, in order that they might bring Guadalupe, and in this they succeeded. On his rushing in amongst them, and attempting to arrest one of them, the watch-word *War* was given, and the young student was lowered by the rope till he reached Guadalupe, whom he seized and held firmly till they were both raised about twenty feet distant from the ground, when he let him fall. The wretched officer exclaimed that he had been seized by the devil, and was about to make his escape as fast as possible, when the students closed around him, and hemmed him in so that he could not escape. A few of the number, having provided themselves with instruments, began to play and sing, repeating after Guadalupe any exclamations which in his terror he made use of. In this manner, playing, singing, and dancing, the students, with the obnoxious officer firmly imprisoned in the midst, proceeded through the gates of the city, those who met them not interfering, as they imagined that it was a frolic of the students. They soon reached a field called the *burnt place*, from its having formerly been the scene of the burnings celebrated during the *autos da fé*. Here the students found the carcase of a horse, which they cut open, and in which they inserted poor Guadalupe, leaving his head projecting, but having taken the precaution to tie his hands and feet so that he could not escape. The skin of the horse they sewed together, so that there was no appearance of the body having been cut open.

In this perilous and wretched situation did the

poor fellow remain all that night, and a portion of the next day. No sooner did morning break than the greater number of the dogs of the city appeared before the carcase, with the intention of breakfasting upon it, and the inmate of the body had to exercise his lungs most manfully, in order to prevent the animals attacking him. However, the appearance of the horse and the projecting human head was so extraordinary, and the yells of the terror-stricken Guadalaxara so fearful, that the dogs were kept at a safe distance; and when, in the course of a short time, a number of people assembled to witness the strange sight, none were bold enough to examine into the mystery. Many of them ran into the city, and spread a report of the strange phenomenon of a dead horse speaking in the burnt field; and as they made oath to the truth of their statement, crowds of the inhabitants went to see the wonder, or, as many called it, the miracle, of a dead horse crying out in the burnt field. Among the multitude was a notary, who, though anxious to make an investigation into this wonderful affair, did not dare to venture near the extraordinary animal; but he thought it safer to go to the Inquisition, and make an affidavit of what he had seen; gratuitously adding to his evidence the suggestion, that as no one among the crowd dared to venture near the animal, it would be advisable to send some of the Friars, with *holy water* and *stola*, to exorcise the horse, and ascertain the reason of its speaking. But the Inquisitors ordered six of their officers to go and bring the animal to the holy office. The

officers, having a strong belief that the devil would submit to them, proceeded to the place. On their approaching this scene, they were beyond measure astonished at the appearance of a human head projecting from the horse, and still more at the owner of the head bawling out, "Help! take me out of this putrefied grave; for heaven's sake, good people, make haste, for I am not the devil, nor a ghost, nor an apparition, but the real body and soul of Guadalaxara, the constable of the university; and I do for ever renounce in this place the office of arresting students, and I forgive them this wrong done to me, and thanks be to God and to the Virgin of Pilar, who has preserved my body from being converted into a dead horse, that I am still alive."

The clear demonstration of the real state of the matter did not in the least convince the officers of the Inquisition, who are always particularly strict in the execution of their orders; so they seized the dead horse, and carried it to the holy office; while an immense crowd followed, and the inhabitants of the city, as the body was carried along, threw open their doors and windows, that they might witness the strange sight. The inquisitors, having received intimation that their services would be required, were at hand to receive the informations, and on the horse being laid down before them, they very gravely interrogated it, and noted down the replies which were given by the incarcerated Guadalaxara. These not being satisfactory, and the holy fathers not trusting to the information which they received from the horse's representative, it was decreed that the torture

should be applied. While the officers were tying the ropes round the animal's belly, the sewing broke, and exposed the veritable body of poor Guadalaxara, who then succeeded in proving his identity and effecting his release. The poor fellow forgave the mischievous students for the trick they had played him, but died three weeks after, on which occasion an elegy was written by some of those who took part in the matter. This affair was a standing joke against the inquisitors of Saragossa for a considerable time after.

It may be here stated, that up to this time a tax was levied by the holy office on each vessel entering the ports of Spain, to defray the expense of the examination which its officers were authorised to make, that nothing detrimental to the true faith might be introduced in the vessel; but latterly this examination had been neglected, though the tax was still paid.

The following anecdote relating to the Portuguese Inquisition at this time may not be uninteresting. A French vessel happened to put into Lisbon; the Marquis de Pombal was then minister of Portugal. Some young men belonging to this vessel went on shore to view the capital of that kingdom. The presence of a Frenchman always excited the utmost vigilance in the familiars of the Inquisition. These young men had all the heedlessness natural to their age, and that inexperience in the manners of different nations which is pardonable in youth, though a common source of errors and indiscretions. They spent the entire day in examining the different parts

of the city; they visited the churches and the palaces; and as they were constantly watched, not one of their actions or words passed unobserved, while they were entirely unconscious of their danger. In the evening, as they were preparing to go on board their ship, they went into a coffee-house to take some refreshment, and to rest themselves after their fatigue. Their conversation turned on what they had heard during the day. Some light, or perhaps ironical, expressions escaped them, with regard to the infinite number of monks whom they had met on their way; and one of them had the boldness to repeat, on that subject, some lines out of Voltaire. It seemed as if this were the signal for their apprehension, for instantly twenty alguazils entered and surrounded them. Being young and armed, they determined not to submit; they therefore resisted boldly, and having fought their way to their boat, which was near at hand, they had the good fortune to escape, all but one unfortunate man, who, less alert than his companions, was wounded, overpowered, and made prisoner.

The French ambassador happening to be absent from Lisbon, M. B—, consul general, acted as *chargé d'affairs* in the interval. The next morning, being informed of the transaction of the preceding night, he repaired to the house of the Marquis de Pombal, to demand that the young man should be delivered up to him, engaging at the same time to have him punished, if the fault should appear to have been on his side. "This business," replied the Marquis, "is indeed of itself of little importance; in other places,

it would be of no consequence; but here, it is above my power to interfere. Were I to attempt to exercise my authority, I can neither foresee nor foretell what might be the disagreeable result to myself. Your only resource is to wait on the Grand Inquisitor; all that I can promise you is to join my solicitation to yours; but I will not conceal from you, that I am of opinion that both will be ineffectual."

This reply naturally gave great uneasiness to M. B——, who, however, determined to persevere, hoping by his spirit and firmness to obtain his end. He therefore went immediately to wait on the Grand Inquisitor, but his highness was not to be seen. He returned upon the next and the succeeding day, but always received the same answer. He then plainly perceived that the inquisitor sought to elude his visit, and he therefore had recourse to a more decisive measure. He ordered his state coach to be got ready, and, followed by all the retinue which is appointed to attend an official visit, he once more repaired to the palace of the Grand Inquisitor, and demanded an audience in the name of the King of France, his master. The inquisitor at length condescended to receive him. M. B—— publicly declared the object of his visit, and demanded the enlargement of the young man. The Grand Inquisitor loudly exclaimed against such compliance; and the terrible words, heresy, atheism, and philosophy were the arguments which he used. "What!" said he; "grant freedom to this rash man, who has publicly ventured to profess the impious maxims of

Voltaire? Voltaire, sir, whose very name is blasphemy. No, sir! a signal reparation is requisite for such a crime,—a reparation adequate to the offence." M. B—— replied, without catching the infection of his highness's wrath: "If this young person were a Portuguese, that he would be as culpable as you affirm I do not deny; but you ought to consider that he has not been educated in conformity to your manners. He thought himself still in his own country, whence he is absent now for the first time. In France, sir, that which you look upon as a crime is far from being looked upon in the same heinous light. The verses of Voltaire are there in the familiar use of all wellbred people. To read them, to be acquainted with them, to quote them, is there the mark of politeness and good breeding. His merits and his beauties are there appreciated as they deserve; his faults indeed (for faults he has) are the subject of regret, but they ought in justice to be attributed rather to the levity of his manner, than to any culpable depravity of mind."

The Grand Inquisitor, surprised at the eulogium, fixed his regard attentively on Mr. B——; he then took him by the hand, and with the utmost gravity, and without uttering a word, he led him into another chamber, and shut the door with the greatest precaution. As soon as he was secure against being overheard, "You behold, sir," said he, "that sacred image of the Redeemer of mankind," shewing him a large crucifix, which stood at one end of the chamber; "swear to me, before that image, that you will keep secret that which I am going to say

to you." "Depend upon my discretion," replied M. B——. "Well, then," continued the Inquisitor, "know that I am entirely unacquainted with the works of Voltaire, and that I have long felt the greatest curiosity to read them." The consul immediately perceived how favourable this circumstance might be made towards the attainment of the object he had in view. "It is easy," he replied, "to satisfy your highness in this particular, and I will cheerfully undertake to gratify your wishes." After these words, M. B——, without adding anything further, took his leave, and in an hour afterwards, he despatched to the Grand Inquisitor a complete set of the formidable works of Voltaire. He thought it right to let some few days pass before he renewed his solicitations, as he wished to give the Inquisitor full time for reflection, the result of which he hoped would be favourable. However, days and weeks rolled away, and no reply was made by his highness. M. B—— becoming impatient, he waited upon the Inquisitor, and was received with politeness, but could obtain nothing but unmeaning words, vague promises, and deceitful hopes. Several visits terminating in the same unsatisfactory manner, M. B—— now thought it right to make use of those means which the curiosity of the Grand Inquisitor had placed in his hands; and therefore, he, a second time assumed all his official state, and, attended by the same retinue as formerly, he repaired to the palace of his highness. "I have had the honour," said he, "of claiming from your hands, in the name of my sovereign, a native of France, whom you have

arrested contrary to the law of nations. This person has committed no offence against the Portuguese government, and, consequently, no body possesses the right to take him by force out of my protection. I consider his arrest an affront on my public character. I have hitherto passed the matter over in silence, in order to avoid the disagreeable consequences which may result from it. I again, this day, repeat my demand in the name of the king of France. If you refuse to deliver up his subject to me, my courier is ready, and I will instantly despatch an account of the matter to Versailles." The Grand Inquisitor, rather alarmed, and hesitating, wished to recur to his ordinary delay. "I entreat that there may be no further procrastination, sir," said the consul; "my master, I perceive, must decide the business. He will consider whether the Inquisition of Lisbon has a right to oppress his subjects, and whether a childish quotation of a few verses from Voltaire deserves to be punished with such severity, by the Grand Inquisitor, *whose favourite reading is the works of that author*;" and having thus spoken, he withdrew. His highness, frightened by this menace, and alarmed for the consequence, if it should be discovered that, violating the rigour of his own laws, he had suffered to penetrate, even into the palace of the Inquisition, books which were so severally prohibited as the works of Voltaire, the reading of which he had so frequently interdicted, under the penalty of the greater excommunication, hastened to appease the threatened storm. He immediately set the young man at

liberty, causing him to be conducted to the consul, whom he intreated to have him sent instantly to France. He added, that he expected that, in consideration of the celerity with which he had hastened to comply with his desire, the entire affair should be kept an inviolable secret. M. B—— promised to comply with this request, and it was not till a long time after his return to France that he imparted the anecdote to some of his intimate friends.

There being no other trials of any importance or interest during this period, we shall proceed to the reign of Charles IV., who ascended the throne of Spain in 1788, and abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand VII., in 1808. The Inquisitors General, during this time, were Cevallos (previously mentioned); Sierra, Archbishop of Selimbria; Lorenzana, Archbishop of Toledo; and de Arce, Archbishop of Burgos.

The expulsion of the Jesuits, just noticed, proved most beneficial in the present reign. Previously they had usurped all offices of profit, and had practically excluded all others from the possession of power. Their banishment consequently left a large number of offices vacant; and as these were scrupulously bestowed on the most deserving, knowledge made rapid advances, the six grand colleges of Spain were reformed, and there was again a prospect of the Inquisition being suppressed. It was, however, again revived by the French revolution, which gave birth to an immense number of works on the rights of man. The tendency of such works so alarmed

Charles and his minister, Florida Blanca, that the office of teacher of natural law in the universities was abolished, and the latter desired the Inquisitor General to prohibit the importation of such works, as he feared the effect which their perusal would have on the Spanish mind. The extensive resources of the holy office were thus again called into requisition, but the violent efforts made to exclude books were found to be quite unsuccessful; the curiosity, which is in such cases naturally raised, caused those who wished to obtain information on such subjects as these works treated of to introduce books into the kingdom, yet so secretly, that it was only in a comparatively small number of cases that proofs could be adduced against the accused parties. The trials which took place related, in most cases, to students in the universities; and the greater number were abandoned, from the utter inability of the officers of the Inquisition to prove the charges. Whether this inability arose more from the stupidity of the officers, or from the secrecy observed by the accused, or from their innocence, we have no means of judging; but it is not at all improbable that, to some extent, it was owing to the first cause, since it is stated by Blanco White, (in Doblado's Letters,) in reference to the disposal of those who had studied at the Spanish colleges, that "the absolutely dull and ignorant were made inquisitors, who, passing judgment in their secret halls, could not disgrace the college by their blunders;" and we find a confirmation of this statement in Mendonca's narrative, where it is mentioned that "in Portugal, the igno-

rance of the inquisitors is absolutely proverbial ; so much so, indeed, that when any nobleman or rich man has occasion to converse on the subject of bringing up his sons, he says, 'As to my son, who is the most stupid of his brothers, we must send him to learn divinity or the canon law, that he may become an inquisitor or a canon.'

In 1799, Urquijo, prime minister to Charles, induced that prince to sign an edict, by which the power which had been usurped by the court of Rome was restored to the bishops to whom it legitimately belonged ; and by this means saved the Spanish people a large sum annually expended in dispensations, &c. At the same time he wished Charles to abolish the Inquisition entirely, but failed in accomplishing his wishes, though he convinced the king of the necessity for a reform of the tribunal. This reform would probably have been effected, but for the disgrace of Urquijo, who fell, the victim of an intrigue, and was confined in the dungeon of the citadel of Pampeluna, where he remained eight years, being refused, during that time, the use of books, ink, paper, fire, or light.

The improvement in the mental and moral cultivation of the Spanish people, at this period, will be evinced by the relation of the following case. It proves the diminished severity of the supreme council, and the fear it entertained of celebrating any more burnings. It would appear that it preferred the infliction of the torture in the secret dungeons of the holy office, to openly braving the hatred of

the people by the disgraceful spectacle of an *auto da fé*.

Don Michael Juan Antonio Solano was born at Veroline, in Arragon. Nature had endued him with an inventive, penetrating genius, inclined to mathematical applications. He learned the trade of a joiner for his own amusement. He invented a plough which would work without oxen or horses, and presented it to the government; but little notice was taken of it. Desiring to make himself useful to his parishioners, (he was curate of Esco, in Arragon,) he undertook to fertilise the earth in a ravine situated between two mountains, and completely succeeded. He had brought into the ravine the waters of a fountain, which was about a quarter of a Spanish league from the spot. A long and severe illness had made him lame, and during his convalescence he invented a chair, in which he could go out into his garden. When his age inclined him to meditations of another nature, as he had not many books, he particularly applied himself to the study of the Bible, and from it he formed his religious system, which differed little from that of the reformed protestants, who are most attached to the discipline of the first ages of the Church. He was persuaded that all that is not expressed in the New Testament, or is opposed to the literal sense of the text, was invented by man. He put his sentiments in writing, and sent the work to his bishop, requesting him to instruct him and give his opinion. The bishop, Lopez Gil, promised to send him an answer, but as it did not arrive, Solano communicated his

opinions to some professors of theology in the university of Saragossa, and to some curates in the neighbourhood. He was, in consequence, denounced to the Inquisitors of Saragossa, who proceeded to take informations and arrest the criminal. A curate, who called himself his friend, received the commission to arrest the unfortunate Solano, while entire liberty was allowed him to enable him to recover. Solano, however, found means to convey himself to Oberon, the nearest town on the French frontier; but soon after, depending on the goodness of his intentions, hoping that the inquisitors would respect his innocence, and show him his errors, if he had fallen into any, he returned to Spain, and wrote to inform them that he would submit to anything, in order to be enlightened and convinced. His conduct proved that he was little acquainted with the tribunal of the Inquisition.

He was conducted to the secret prisons of Saragossa, where he confessed all, alleging that having meditated for a long time with a sincere desire to discover the truth of the Christian religion, and that without the assistance of any book but the Bible, he had convinced himself that there was no truth in anything but what was contained in the holy scriptures; that all the rest might be erroneous, because, though several fathers of the church maintained these opinions, they were but men, and consequently liable to err; that he considered all that had been established by the Roman church, in opposition to the proper and literal meaning of the scriptural text, as false, and that it was possible to

fall into error, in admitting that which did not result either directly or indirectly from the text; that he considered it certain that the ideas of purgatory and the limbos were the invention of man, since Jesus spoke of only two receptacles for souls, paradise and hell; that it was a sin to receive money for performing mass, although it was called an alms, and for the support of the celebrator; and that the priests and other ministers of religion ought to receive their salaries from the government, like the judges and other officers. He thought that the introduction and establishment of tithes was a fraud of the priests, and the manner of explaining the commandment of the church, which ordained that they should be paid without any deductions for seed or the expenses of the harvest, was a shameful robbery; that no attention ought to be paid to the commands of the Pope, because no god but avarice is adored at Rome, and all the measures of that government only tend to take money from the people, on religious pretences.

The inquisitors at Saragossa undertook to persuade Solano to renounce his opinions, and employed for that purpose some respectable theologians; they exhorted him to acknowledge his errors and repent, and threatened him with relaxation. Solano replied, that he was aware of his danger, but if he was induced to retract, he would be condemned before the tribunal of God, and that if he was in error, God would enlighten him or pardon him. The infallibility of the church, and the opinions of the saints and learned men who had decided on the meaning of the obscure texts, were represented to him; he

replied that in all their discussions the court of Rome had interfered, and rendered their good intentions of no avail.

It was impossible to make Solano recant, and the inquisitors passed sentence of *relaxation*. It must be confessed that they could not do otherwise, according to the code of the Inquisition. But the supreme council, wishing to spare the Spanish nation the spectacle of an *auto da fé*, had recourse to the extraordinary measure of examining some persons who had been mentioned by the witnesses, but had been neglected; commanding the inquisitors, at the same time, to use every effort to make Solano retract. It was in vain, and the inquisitors, though they well knew the motives which led the council to vote against their sentence, did not dare to disobey the law. They pronounced sentence of relaxation a second time, and the council took advantage of a declaration made by one of the witnesses, to order an inquest to be taken among all the curates, priests, and physicians of Esco and the neighbourhood, in order to discover if Solano had ever suffered an illness which weakened or deranged his mind. The result of this inquest was to be communicated to the council, and, in the meantime, the trial was suspended. The physician, who suspected what they wished him to say, declared that Solano had had a severe illness for several years before he was arrested, and that it was not surprising that it had weakened his mental powers. He said, that from that time he had spoken more frequently of his religious opinions, which were not those of the catholics in Spain.

On receiving this deposition, the council decreed, that without pronouncing definitively on the subject, every means should be used to convert the accused. At this juncture, Solano fell dangerously ill; the inquisitors charged the most able theologians of Saragossa to endeavour to make him return to the faith, and even entreated the bishop-coadjutor of the Archbishop of Saragossa, Don Fray Michel Suarez de Santander, to exhort him with that tenderness and goodness which were characteristics of that worthy prelate. The curate appeared to be sensibly affected by all that was done for him, but he said that he could not renounce his opinions without fearing that he offended God, by betraying the truth. On the twentieth day of his illness, the doctor told him that he was dying, and desired him to take advantage of the few moments that were left him. "I am," said Solano, "in the hands of God; I have nothing more to do." Thus died the curate of Esco, in the year 1805. He was refused ecclesiastical sepulture, and was privately buried within the walls of the tribunal. The inquisitors reported all that had passed to the supreme council, which forbade them to continue the trial, that Solano might not be burnt in effigy.*

An occurrence which took place about this time, at Coimbra, caused a considerable sensation. A clergyman came to the windows of the holy office, which face the street of St. Sophia, and within the iron grates of the window of the upper apartments loudly entreated that for God's sake some one would

* Llorente.

pick up the little bits of paper, written on with brick dust, which he was throwing into the street; as they contained a narrative of his troubles, and the injustice he had suffered, for fourteen years, in the secret prisons of the Inquisition; and he begged also that, from motives of charity, some one would represent his case to her majesty, that she might give instructions for investigating the cause of the unmerited tortures to which he was continually subjected. This clergyman had by chance escaped out of his cell, and found his way to that corridor; but some guards immediately followed, and pushed him from the grates of the window, as was observed by many persons in the street; but no one dared to touch the little bits of paper, which lay undisturbed until one of the officers of the Inquisition came out and picked up all of them.

A few days after this affecting incident, the president of the Inquisition at Coimbra precipitated himself from a window, and died instantly. His companions reported that he did this from mental derangement; but many said that the president feared being either reprimanded or punished by the Grand Inquisitor, for his want of care in permitting to transpire to the public ear that the unfortunate clergyman had been undergoing confinement for fourteen years.

The case of a *Beata* at Cuenca created a great sensation about this time. She was the wife of a labourer at Villar d' Aguilar. She invented a variety of fictions, with the intention of convincing the people that she was a saint; and among other asser-

tions that she made was this,—that Jesus Christ revealed to her, that she had changed her flesh and blood into the same substance as his own body. The priests and monks occupied themselves in very gravely discussing this matter, some of them asserting that it was impossible ; others, that it was not impossible, if the infinite power and mercy of God were considered. Many believed everything, and were very indignant at the incredulity which others manifested ; for these simple people could not divine what interest the *Beata* could have in deceiving them. There were others who, having been cognisant of the life of this woman from the beginning, became her accomplices, and aided her in her impostures, professing to believe in her supernatural state, and thus misleading those who were more credulous. However lamentable such a statement must be, it is true that many carried their folly to such an extent as actually to worship the impostor. They conducted her in procession, with lighted tapers, through the streets and to the churches ; they burnt incense before her as before the consecrated host ; and concluded by prostrating themselves before her. The Inquisition, having witnessed these scenes for some time, put an end to them by arresting the *Beata* and some of her accomplices. The former ended her days in the prisons of the holy office, previous to her sentence being pronounced. Her effigy was burnt at the next *auto da fé* ; the curate of Villar and two monks, all of whom were her accomplices, were condemned to follow the effigy barefooted, clothed in short tunics, with cords round their necks, and were

afterwards banished for life to the Phillipine islands; the curate of Casasmarro was suspended from his office for six years; and two men who had aided in her deceptions received two hundred lashes each, and were imprisoned for life.

A case somewhat similar, but perhaps more absurd, occurred at Madrid. Sister Clara pretended to be miraculously endowed, and to be possessed of great sanctity. She feigned paralysis, and stated that she was unable to leave her bed. On this report becoming current, an immense number of people went to see her. The most distinguished ladies in Madrid repaired to her, and thought themselves only too happy if they were admitted to see her. She was entreated to be the mediatrix with God for the cure of different maladies, to enlighten judges on the eve of important judgments, and graces and assistance were implored through her against many misfortunes. Clara replied to all in an emphatic style, like an inspired person who saw into the future. She announced that, by an especial call from the Holy Spirit, she was destined to be a Capuchin nun, and she was extremely grieved that she had neither the strength nor the health necessary for living in a community and a cloister. She imposed so well on the persons who surrounded her, that Pius VII. permitted her, in a special brief, to make her profession before Don Athanasius de Puyal, bishop coadjutor of the Archbishop of Toledo, at Madrid, and granted her a dispensation from the cloistered life and the exercises of a community. From that moment nothing was spoken of in society

but the miracles and heroic virtue of sister Clara. The bishop who received her vows obtained permission from the Pope and the Archbishop of Toledo to erect an altar in her chamber, opposite her bed; several masses were performed there every day, and even the holy sacrament was placed there in a tabernacle. Clara communicated every day, and persuaded those who came to see her that she took no sustenance but the bread of the eucharist. This delusion lasted for several years; but, in 1802, Clara was taken to the prison of the holy office; her mother also, and a monk whom she had taken for her spiritual director, were likewise arrested. These were accused of having assisted the nun in her impostures, in order to obtain considerable sums of money, which the ladies of Madrid and other devout persons placed in her hands, to be distributed as alms.—When her deceit, her pretended sickness, and the other circumstances of her life were proved, Clara, her mother, and her director were condemned to seclusion and other punishments, much less severe than they perhaps deserved.

CHAPTER XI.

THE extravagancies to which the two *Beatas* went, whose cases we have recorded in the previous chapter, were probably to some extent induced by the success (although partial) which attended the impostures of others who had preceded them. In illustration of the cases we have related, we give an account of the impostures of the nun Maria, (commonly called the Lisbon Nun,) and Mary Guerrero, of Saragossa. Both of these belong to a much earlier date than those which have just been related, but they are inserted here, as there is considerable similarity in some of the details.

Maria of the Annunciation was born at Lisbon, and at the age of thirteen was put into the Dominican convent of the annunciation, in that city, in which, when she arrived at a proper age, she professed herself a nun. She had not long done so before she began to have miraculous visions, and to be daily visited by Christ in person, whom she saluted with the doxology thus, "Glory be to the Father, and to Thee, and to the Holy Spirit." Whenever she received the sacrament her soul was in a rapture, and she was honoured with the vision of the heavenly choir of angels; and when she embraced her crucifix,

which she called her husband, beams of light constantly darted out from it, much brighter and stronger than those of the sun.

One day, as she was at her devotion, Christ appeared to her, and made her a promise to visit her again upon St. Thomas Aquinas' day, and thereon to do her the greatest honour that any creature was capable of enjoying. Maria having acquainted Antonio de la Cerda, the provincial of her order, who, on her name becoming so celebrated for miracles, had become her confessor, with the promise which had been made her, she received directions from him how to prepare herself for the reception of so great a favour. These she implicitly obeyed, for never was any one more submissive to her confessor than Maria.

Thomas Aquinas's day being come, and all the nuns and friars having assembled to matins, while Maria was in a most profound fit of devotion, Christ crucified appeared to her, and, in the sight of the whole congregation, impressed all the wounds of his head, side, hands, and feet upon the same parts of her body. On her head she had two and thirty wounds, such as thorns would make; and in her side a gash, such as a spear might be supposed to cause; while on her hands and feet she had wounds of a triangular shape, as if made by nails. In order to excite the devotion of those absent as well as those present, the rags which she laid to the wounds on Thursdays had always the five wounds of Christ imprinted on them, in the form of a cross; and happy was the Roman Catholic prince or princess who could

obtain some of those sacred rags. The Pope had one; the king of Spain, who appeared to be most strangely devoted to her, had another; the empress had one sent her; and there was not a catholic prince, or princess, but who obtained one of them, by some interest or other. One was sent to the lady of the viceroy of Sicily, who treasured it as one of the most sacred relics in the world. And Philip II., to shew that he firmly believed all that was reported of the miracles and sanctity of the Lisbon nun, had the royal standard of the armada, which sailed against England in 1588, blessed by her.

The Inquisition, which made it its business to enquire particularly as to the truth of all reputed miracles, having summoned Maria's confessor, as well as all the other friars of the convent, before them, was fully satisfied by their depositions and oaths, as eye-witnesses, of the validity of the miracles as reported. Whereupon, Gregory XIII. wrote to the nun a very godly letter, exhorting her to humility, thankfulness, and perseverance in her devotions; and as there was no Roman Catholic who in the least doubted the truth of what was reported of her by her confessor, who published a long account of her miracles, so the poor protestants were held up to ridicule, as the most perverse heretics in the world, for neither believing those reports, nor repairing to Lisbon, where their own eyes might convince them of the truth of them. So Petrus Matheus, in a bullary which he printed at this time, after a long encomium on the Lisbon nun, adds, "Nothing can be offered in contradiction to this story, for the blessed

virgin is still living, as are the sisters also who are her witnesses; the place is visited, and the whole is proved and confirmed, by most eminent divines who were eye-witnesses to it." After all this, one would little have expected that such a scheme should have miscarried, at least so far as to have been owned and condemned as a fraud by the Inquisition itself; but so it was; for the lady abbess, (her companions had forced upon her this dignity,) at a time when she ought to have died, and been canonised as a saint for her extraordinary piety and miracles, finding that she was regarded as an oracle by all around her, began to mutter that it was revealed to her that Philip II. had no title to the crown of Portugal, but that the right thereto was possessed by the Duchess of Braganza. The result of this revelation was, that Philip was compelled either to resign the crown of Portugal, or to feign a disbelief of the truth of the nun, for whose sanctity he previously had such a veneration. He considered the latter course the more convenient of the two, and gave a hint to the Inquisition, the officers of which struck the oracle dumb, so soon as it began to antiphilipise; for the wounds of the pious nun, being examined, were found not to be so deep as the skin, being merely clever imitations made with red lead.

Upon this discovery, she was condemned, by the Archbishop of Braga and Lisbon, the Bishop of Guarda, and the Apostolical Inquisitors, to the following penances:—She was to be a prisoner during her life in some nunnery out of Lisbon, but not one belonging to the Dominican order; for five years,

from the day on which her sentence was pronounced, she was not to have the sacrament administered to her, excepting on the feasts of Easter, Whitsuntide, or Christmas, or unless the receiving thereof should happen to be necessary to the partaking of the benefits of a jubilee; on every Wednesday and Friday of the year, she was to be brought into the chapter-house of the nunnery, and there to be whipped publicly, before all the nuns, during the time when the *Miserere me Deus* was being read; at meals she was not to be suffered to sit at table, but must have her meat given her sitting on the pavement of the refectory; neither must any person eat what she might leave; and both before and after meat, she must lie across the door of the refectory, where the nuns must tread upon her as they came in and went out; during her life she must keep the ecclesiastical fast, and must never be chosen abbess, nor bear any office in the nunnery, but must always be the lowest in the convent; she must never be permitted to speak to any one within nor without the convent, without the abbess's leave; all the rags stained with blood which had been distributed by her, and all her false relics, and all pictures of her, must be brought into the Inquisition, or, where that cannot be done conveniently, must be carried to the next prelate; lastly, she must never be allowed to cover her head with her veil, and on Wednesdays and Fridays, during the year, must be fed on nothing but bread and water, and must every day, in the refectory, make a public confession of her crime before all the nuns.

The other case referred to was as follows:—In the city of Saragossa, near the college of St. Thomas, lived Mary Guerrero, the wife of a tailor. She was handsome, witty, and ambitious; but seeing that her rank in life would not allow her to shine among the higher orders, she determined to become a *Beata*, in order that she might become known and admired in the city. The first step she had to take was the appointment of a suitable confessor, of good reputation among the nobility; and in this respect she made an excellent choice for her purpose, when she fixed on the reverend father Michael Navarro, a Dominican friar, a D.D., and a man well respected and beloved for his doctrine and good behaviour. She began to confess to him, and in less than a year, by her feigned modesty and hypocritical airs, (for she confessed no sins, relating only the religious exercises of her life,) the reverend father began to publish to the city her sanctity and devotion. Many ladies and gentlemen of the highest rank, desirous of seeing the new saint, sent for her; but she refused to appear, and through her maid denied herself to all. This was a great addition to the fame of her sanctity, and, as she anticipated, only incited those who wished to see her to greater exertions for the accomplishment of their purpose. Some went to father Navarro, desiring that he would allow them to accompany him when he should next visit the devotee. But the wily father, seeing that it was his interest to raise the excitement to a still greater height, or perhaps intending to further his own private designs, answered that he could not

comply with their wishes; for, knowing her virtue, modesty, and aversion to any act of vanity, he would be very much in the wrong to allow her any opportunities of cooling her fervent zeal.

By these means, the fame of her piety became so spread abroad, that rich and poor, old and young, men and women, all began to resort to her neighbour's house and to the Dominican church, that they might obtain but a glimpse of her. She shewed great displeasure at these popular demonstrations of respect, and came to the determination to stay at home. So, after a long consultation with her father confessor, it was agreed that she should keep her room, and that he should confess her and say mass in her room, instead of requiring her to repair to his church for the purpose. As a commencement of the life which this worthy pair had chalked out for themselves, the holy father charged her husband to quit the house, and never more to appear before her; for the sight of him would be a great hindrance to his wife's sanctity and purity. The foolish man, believing all that was told him, left the house, and took a lodging for himself and his apprentice.

The manner of life we have described continued a full year; but the holy father, at the end of that time, finding the labour of going every day to say mass and confess the *blessed* far too great, applied to the reverend father Buenacasa, then prior of the convent, for permission to go and live with her as her spiritual guide. The prior, foreseeing considerable advantage, consented; so the confessor took up his residence with the *Beata*, and became the master

of the house. When he had become firmly established, he began by degrees to grant permission to various persons to see the *Beata*, through the glass of a little window, desiring them at the same time not to make any noise, for fear of disturbing her in the middle of her devotions. Whenever any one was thus allowed to see her, she was in her own room, always on her knees. The glass window, through which she might be observed, was in the wall between her room and that occupied by her confessor. In a few months more, the archbishop visited her, and conversed with her and father Navarro, with the latter of whom he was on terms of great intimacy. This example of the prelate induced a large number of the nobility to do the like. The viceroy, not being permitted by etiquette to call on her, sent his coach for her, and she and the father confessor had the honour of privately supping with his excellency. This circumstance becoming known, she was every day troubled with coaches and presents from all sorts and conditions of persons. Many sick persons went to her house, in the hope of being cured of their maladies by seeing her. Some of these, going at a time when their disease was at a crisis, and finding themselves better, perhaps in consequence of their walking, or some other natural operation, cried out, "*A miracle! a miracle!*" This was just what she wanted. Her only anxiety seemed to be to secure a reputation for sanctity among the ignorant. She had now become of so much importance that she and her faithful confessor removed to a larger house; and as she was in the habit of

receiving a number of letters every morning from persons of quality residing in other provinces, the father had to engage a secretary, as well as a porter to attend the door. Two years more thus passed, during which time the friar was writing the life of the *blessed*. Of this work he was requested to print a portion; but he was prevented complying with the wishes which had been conveyed to him, for he and the *Beata* were both arrested by the Inquisition.

The cause of this arrest was as follows: Ann Moron, the wife of a surgeon, who lived next door to the *Beata*, had a child ten months old; and, as a neighbour, she called on the confessor, requesting him to take the child to the *Beata*, and beg her to kiss him; thinking that such an act would render her child happy for ever. The confessor desired her to go in and see the *Beata*, and make the request direct, which she did accordingly. Mary Guerrero took the child, and bade the mother leave him with her for a quarter of an hour. She did so, fancying that her child was already sure of going to heaven; but when, at the expiration of the time, she called, the *Beata* told her that her child was to die on the following night, for so God had revealed to her after she had said a short prayer on behalf of the babe. The child actually died on the following night, but the surgeon, as a tender father, seeing some spots and marks on his child's body, opened it, and found that the cause of death had been a dose of poison. Satisfied, from the fact of the death being foretold by the *Beata*, that his child had been poisoned by her, he proceeded to the holy office, and detailed

the circumstances of the case. The second inquisitor proceeded to the house where the death had occurred, and, having examined the body, and ascertained the truth of the statements of the surgeon, he gave orders for the apprehension of the *Beata*, her father confessor, and all their domestics. At the same time, the contents of the house were seized, and among other things the papers of the holy father. A portion of these consisted of the life of the *Beata*, written by father Navarro's own hand. The manner of the composition of this work, and the circumstances related in it, caused many to say that the confessor must have been bewitched; while others could not believe that a man of such learning could allow himself to be so deceived by a designing woman. The manuscript, such as it was, however, was sent for examination to the qualificators of the holy office, who recorded their opinion that the book, entitled "*The Life of the blessed Mary Guerrero*," composed by the reverend father Michael Navarro, was scandalous, false, and against revealed doctrine in the Scriptures, as well as good manners; and that it deserved to be burnt in the common yard of the holy office, by the meanest officer of the tribunal.

When this report had been rendered, the inquisitors summoned two priests out of every parish church, and two friars out of every convent, to attend in the holy office on a certain day, to be present at the trial and examination of Mary Guerrero and Michael Navarro. The number of those summoned was about one hundred and fifty, besides the inquisitors, officers of the Inquisition, and qualificators,

the last of whom alone numbered two hundred and twenty. When all had arrived, the inquisitors seated themselves under a canopy of black velvet, placed near the altar, upon which was a crucifix and six wax candles. The culprits were summoned, and entered from the prison. While they knelt before the judges, the secretary of the holy office read the articles of examination. The prisoners appeared that day very much like saints, for they were both pale, and had thin visages. The examination was so long, that those summoned to attend the trial had to appear at three subsequent audiences.

While it is melancholy to reflect on the ignorance and indecency displayed, it is difficult to refrain from laughing at the absurdity of the statements made in the written life of the holy woman by father Navarro,—statements which were read in the course of the trial. A few of these were,—that the blessed creature knew no sin since she had been born into the world; that she had been several times visited by angels in her closet, and that Jesus Christ himself had come down thrice to give her new heavenly injunctions; that she was advised by the divine spouse to live separately from her husband; that she was once favoured with a visit of the holy trinity, and then she saw Jesus at the left hand of the father; that the holy dove afterwards came and sat upon her head several times; that Jesus Christ, in a Dominican's habit, appeared to her at night, and in a celestial dream she was overshadowed by the Spirit; and that the Pope and the whole church would rejoice in her death,—nay, his holiness would

canonise her, and place her name in the litany before the apostles, &c. Whether the holy father confessor was more rogue or fool in this matter, it would be difficult to say ; but we incline to think the former, for one of the articles of accusation against him was that he had carried on an illicit intercourse with the *Beata*, and the truth of this charge was proved, by her giving birth to a child in the prison of the Inquisition.

It is not known what became of this worthy couple, for their sentences were not read in public. It is probable, however, that the female died in the prisons of the holy office, either naturally or under the torture, for her husband had an intimation conveyed to him, by an officer of the tribunal, that he was at liberty to marry any other woman, for whom he had a fancy.

About the year 1807, the Chevalier de St. Gervais,* a French officer, fell into the hands of the inquisitors of Barcelona, and afterwards published an account of his treatment and amusing mode of release. He says, "After dinner I went to take a walk on that beautiful terrace which extends along the port, in that part called *Barcelonette*. The sides of this walk, which is named the *Lonja*, are adorned with fine buildings. I was tranquilly enjoying this delightful place, and the serene evening of a fine day, wrapped in dreams of my projects, of my future destiny, and of the beautiful Seraphine.

* Author of "*Voyage en Espagne*," Paris, 1809.

The sweetly pensive shades of twilight had begun to veil the face of the sky, when, suddenly, six men surrounded and commanded me to follow them. I replied by a firm refusal; whereupon one of them seized me by the collar. I instantly assailed him with a violent blow on the face, which caused him to bellow with pain; but in an instant the whole band pressed on me so closely, that I was obliged to draw my sword. I fought as long as I was able, but not being possessed of the strength of Antæus or Hercules, I was at last compelled to yield. The ruffians endeavoured to inspire me with respect and dread, by saying that they were familiars of the holy office, and advised me to surrender, that I might escape disgrace and harsh treatment. I submitted to force, and was taken to the prisons of the Inquisition.

“As soon as I found myself within the talons of these vultures, I began to ask myself what was my crime, and what I had done to incur the censure of this hateful tribunal. ‘Have these Jacobin monks,’ said I, ‘succeeded to the Druids, who called themselves the agents of the Deity, and arrogated to themselves the right of excommunicating and putting to death their fellow-citizens?’ My complaints were lost in empty air.

“On the following day, a Dominican, shrouded in hypocrisy, and with a tongue of deceit, came to conjure me, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, to confess my faults, in order to the attainment of my liberty. ‘Confess your own faults first,’ said I to

him; 'ask pardon of God for your hypocrisy and your injustice. By what right do you arrest a gentleman, a native of France, who is exempted from the jurisdiction of your infernal tribunal, and who has done nothing in violation of the laws of this country?' 'Oh! holy Virgin,' said he, 'you make me tremble! I will go and pray to God in your behalf, and I hope he will open your eyes and turn your heart!' 'Go, pray to the devil,' said I to myself; 'he is your only divinity.'

"However, on that same day, M. Aubert, having in vain waited for me, at the dinner hour, sent to my hotel to enquire about me. The landlord informed him that I had disappeared on the preceding evening; that my luggage still remained in his custody, but that he was entirely ignorant what had become of me. This obliging gentleman, uneasy for my fate, made enquiries concerning me over the whole city, but without being able to gain the smallest intelligence. Astonished at this circumstance, he began to suspect that some indiscretion on my part might have drawn down upon me the vengeance of the holy office, with whose spirit and conduct he was perfectly acquainted. He begged of the captain general to demand my enlargement. The Inquisitors denied the fact of my detention with the utmost effrontery of falsehood; but M. Aubert, not being able to discover any other probable cause for my disappearance, persisted in believing me to be a prisoner in the holy office.

"Next day, the familiars came to conduct me before the three inquisitors; they presented me with

a yellow mantle to put on ; but I disdainfully rejected this satanic livery. However, they persuaded me that submission was the only means by which I could hope to recover my liberty. I appeared, therefore, clad in yellow, with a wax taper in my hand, before these three priests of Pluto. In the chamber was displayed the banner of the holy office, on which were represented a gridiron, a pair of pincers, and a pile of wood, with these words, 'JUSTICE, CHARITY, MERCY.' What an atrocious piece of irony ! I was tempted more than once to singe, with my blazing taper, the hideous visage of one of these Jacobins, but my good genius prevented me. One of them advised me, with an air of mildness, to confess my sins. 'My great sin,' replied I, 'is to have entered a country where the priests trample humanity under foot, and assume the cloak of religion to persecute virtue and innocence.' 'Is that all you have to say ?' 'Yes, my conscience is free from alarm, and from remorse. Tremble, if the regiment to which I belong should hear of my imprisonment ; they would trample over ten regiments of Spaniards to rescue me from your barbarity.' 'God alone is master ; our duty is to watch over his flock, as faithful shepherds ; our hearts are afflicted at it, but you must return to your prison till you think proper to make a confession of your fault.' I then retired, casting upon my judges a look of contempt and indignation.

"As soon as I returned to my prison, I most anxiously considered what could be the cause of this severe treatment. I was far from suspecting that it could be owing to my answer to the mendicant

friar, concerning the virgin and her lights.* However, M. Aubert, being persuaded that the Inquisition alone had been the cause of my disappearance, placed spies upon all their steps. One of these informed him that three monks of the Dominican order were about to set out for Rome, being deputed to the conventual assembly, which was to be held there. He immediately wrote to M. de Colet, commandant at Perpignan, to inform him how I had disappeared, of his suspicions as to the cause, and of the passage of the three jacobins through Perpignan, desiring him to arrest them, and not to set them at liberty, till I should be released.

“M. de Colet embraced with alacrity this opportunity of vengeance, and issued orders at the gates of the town to seize the three reverend personages. They arrived about noon, with high spirits and keen appetites, and demanded of the sentinel which was the best hotel. The officer of the guard presented himself, and informed them that he was commissioned to conduct them to the commandant of the place, who would provide for them lodging and entertainment. The monks, rejoiced at this lucky wind-fall, overflowed with acknowledgments, and declared they could not think of incommoding the commandant. ‘Come, good fathers, M. Colet is determined to do you the honours of the city.’ In the meantime

* A mendicant having come to his chamber with a purse, begging him to contribute something for the lights, or tapers, to be lighted in honour of the Virgin, he replied, “My good father, the Virgin has no need of lights, she need only go to bed at an early hour.”

he provided them an escort of four soldiers and a serjeant. The fathers marched along with joy, congratulating one another, and delighted with the politeness of the French. 'Good fathers,' said M. de Colet, 'I am delighted to have you in this city. I expected you impatiently, and have provided you a lodging.' 'Ah! Monsieur Commandant, you are too good; we are undeserving.' 'Pardon me; have you not in your prison at Barcelona a French officer, the Chevalier de St. Gervais?' 'No, M. Commandant, we have never heard of any such person.' 'I am sorry for that, for you are to be imprisoned, and to live upon bread and water, until this officer be forthcoming.' The reverend fathers, exceedingly irritated, exclaimed against this violation of the law of nations, and then said that they resigned themselves to the will of heaven, and that the commandant should answer before God and the Pope for the persecution which he was about to exercise against members of the church. 'Yes,' said the commandant, 'I take the responsibility upon myself; meanwhile, you will repair to the citadel.'

"Now, behold the three hypocrites, in a narrow prison, condemned to the regimen of the Pauls and the Hilaries, uttering the loudest exclamations against the system of fasting and the commandant. Every day the purveyor, when he brought them their pitcher of water and portion of bread, demanded whether they had anything to declare relative to the French officer. For three days they persisted in replying in the negative; but at length the cries, not of their consciences, but of their stomachs, and

their weariness of this mode of life, overcame their obstinacy. They begged an interview with M. de Colet, who instantly waited on them.

"They confessed that a young French officer was confined in the prisons of the holy office, on account of the impious language he had held respecting the Virgin. 'Undoubtedly he has acted improperly,' said M. de Colet, 'but allow the Virgin to avenge herself. Write to Barcelona to set this gentleman at liberty; in the interim I will keep you as hostages, but I will mitigate your sufferings, and your table shall be less frugally supplied.' The monks immediately wrote word to give liberty to the accursed Frenchman.

"During this interval, vexations, impatience, and weariness took possession of my soul, and made me weary of life. At length, the Inquisition, reading their brethren's letter, perceived themselves under the necessity of releasing their prey. One of them came to inform me that, in consideration of my youth, and of my being a native of France, the holy office had come to the determination to set me free; but that they required me for the future to have more respect for La Madonna, the mother of Jesus Christ. 'Most reverend father,' replied I, 'the French have always the highest respect for the ladies.' Uttering these words, I rushed towards the door, and when I got into the street, I felt as if I were raised from the tomb once more to life."

We now arrive at the reign of Ferdinand VII., during which the Inquisition in Spain was finally abolished. Ferdinand ascended the throne in 1808,

on the abdication of his father, Charles IV., but was speedily compelled to resign; and in the same year Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, succeeded. Ferdinand was restored in 1814, and continued to reign till his death in 1833.

In 1808, Napoleon decreed the suppression of the tribunal, and the application of its funds to the reduction of the public debt in the kingdom; and in 1813, the Cortes, believing that its existence was incompatible with the political constitution, discussed the propriety of its total abolition, and the restoration of their former power to the bishops and the secular judges. The press having by this time become comparatively free, many works both in favour of and against the tribunal were published. No exertions were spared by its advocates to support the falling edifice, while, on the other hand, the more enlightened members of the community were not slow to expose the horrors of the inquisitorial procedure, and the destructive effect of the holy office on the peace and prosperity of the country. Both parties, in their turns, gained a victory; the Cortes, influenced by the progress of knowledge and the exercise of their reason, wisely decreed its abolition, though the priests and other ecclesiastics refused to read the edict in the churches till they were compelled to do so; Ferdinand, being immediately afterwards restored to his throne, was so biassed by the representations of the ecclesiastics and others, by whom he was surrounded, that he re-established the holy office in 1814. This measure he justified, on the ground that the foreign troops not attached to the

Catholic faith, who had lately been in Spain, had caused many to imbibe heretical opinions; and that it was necessary not only to correct these, but to prevent the introduction of others of a similar character. In addition to these reasons for its re-establishment, he stated that its abolition had been decreed by an assembly falsely calling itself the Cortes of the kingdom, and which pretended that the existence of the tribunal was contrary to the constitution. Ferdinand, however, being aware that the greatest enormities had been perpetrated by its officers, under the cover of religious zeal, and that its procedure required reformation, inserted in his decree the following passage: "But, as independent of those ancient laws, it may be proper to add new ones on this subject; and my intention being to perfect this establishment, so as to render it eminently useful to my subjects, I require that, as soon as the said supreme council of the Inquisition shall be assembled, two of its members, in conjunction with two members of the council of Castile, each selected by me, shall examine the modes and procedure of the holy office, in the processes, and relative to the inspection and prohibition of books; and if they find that the interest of my subjects, or the rights of substantial justice, require any reform or change, they shall report it to me, and give me their reasons for it, in order that I may take the necessary and consequent measures."—Either the commissioners did not make a report, or Ferdinand did not heed it if it was made, for, as far as we can learn, no reform was effected.

On the occasion of the holy office recovering its privileges, in 1814, a priest named Ostalaza (a great favourite of the king) delivered an address to him in the name of the people of Valencia, the object of which was to thank him for his zeal for the true faith, evinced by his re-establishing the Inquisition. The priest evidently knew how to flatter Ferdinand, for he uttered the following hyperbole:—"What a consolation, sire, for all true Spaniards, thus to find their religious sentiments accord with the wise resolutions of their monarch! What a satisfaction thus to witness their hopes and their predictions realised! The person of your majesty is no sooner freed from captivity, than the misfortunes and distresses of your people cease! Learning and genius are made known, and rewarded with the highest honours! Talents, duly appreciated, ensure their possessors distinctions! But above all, Religion, persecuted by its enemies, bursts forth under your majesty's paternal care, like the great luminary of day, with dazzling radiance! How honourable to me, sire, to be even admitted to the presence of the greatest of monarchs,—of the best father of his subjects,—of the sovereign dearest to the hearts of his grateful people!"

Upon the footing we have mentioned did the Inquisition of Spain exist till 1816, in which year the Pope decreed that torture in all the tribunals should be abolished, that the proceedings should be open and public, and that in all trials for heresy the accuser should be confronted with the accused, in the presence of the judges; and he expressed his intention of effecting such further reforms, that

the punishment of death should be altogether avoided. How far these instructions were carried out, it is impossible to say, for the anomalous position of the officers of the Inquisition, dependant as they were partly on secular, partly on ecclesiastical power, and possessing as they did the power of resisting either or both, as it suited their purpose, would enable them, if they chose, to evade almost any edict; it being remembered also that the impenetrable secrecy which so distinguished it in former days had not, even at this period, ceased to be a characteristic of the holy office. Previous to this date, although an ostentatious parade of the cleanly apartments devoted to prisoners, and a representation of all the comforts which they enjoyed, and the humanity and mercy shown them, was always made to persons visiting the prisons of the holy office, it was evident that there was much of the building never exhibited; that there were dungeons of a more fearful character than the well-lighted and ventilated cells which were freely shown; and that those connected with the holy office were by no means prepared to reply to all the inquisitive questions which might be asked them. In corroboration of this statement, we cite the evidence of Mr. Jacobs, who, in his book of travels in Spain, says that in 1809 he was admitted to view the Inquisition of Seville, and was surprised to find those parts of it to which he was admitted to be cheerful, light, and clean. On enquiring, however, whether there were any prisoners confined in any other dungeons, or whether there were any

instruments of torture within the building, he could get no reply.

In 1820, the Cortes finally abolished the Inquisition of Spain, and it has never been re-established. When the dungeons of the various tribunals were thrown open, it became manifest that the instructions to dispense with the application of the torture had not been obeyed. Blaquiere, the historian of the Spanish Revolution, writing from Madrid in October, 1820, says, "If reports which I have heard both here and at Saragossa be true, the torture must have been resorted to in several instances. Amongst the memoranda found on the walls of the Inquisition here, one, after declaring the innocence of the writer, points out his mother as the accuser; another seems to have been traced by a victim upon whom the torture of *La Pendola* had been exercised. This was performed by placing the sufferer in a chair sunk into the earth, and letting water fall on the crown of his head, from a certain height, in single drops. Though far from appearing so, the pendola is supposed to have been the most painful operation practised by the defenders of the faith. In a third inscription, dated on the 11th November, 1818, the writer complains of having been shut up for a political offence, and in consequence of a false denunciation."

We think it may interest our readers to subjoin an account of the throwing open of the Lisbon Inquisition, in 1821. It is taken from the *Courier Français*. "On the 8th instant, [October, 1821,]

the palace of the holy office was opened to the people. The number which crowded to see it, for the first four days, rendered it extremely difficult, and even dangerous, to attempt an entrance. The edifice is extensive, and has the form of an oblong square, with a garden in the centre. It is three stories high, and has several vaulted galleries, along which are situated a number of dungeons, of six, seven, eight, and nine feet square. Those on the ground floor and on the first story, having no windows, are deprived of both air and light when the door is shut. The dungeons of the next story have a kind of breathing hole in the form of a chimney, through which the sky may be seen. These apartments were allotted to prisoners, who, it was supposed, might be set at liberty. In the vaulted wall of each dungeon there is a hole, of about one inch in diameter, which communicates with a secret corridor running along by each tier of dungeons. By this means the agents of the Inquisition could at any moment observe the conduct of the prisoners, without being seen by them; and, when two persons were confined in the same dungeon, could hear their conversation. In these corridors were seats, so placed that a spy could observe what was passing in two dungeons, by merely turning his eyes from right to left, in order to look into either of the holes, between which he might be stationed. Human skulls and other bones have been found in several of the dungeons. On the walls of these frightful holes, are carved the names of some of the unfortunate victims buried in them, accompanied with

lines, or notches, indicating the number of days of their captivity. One name had beside it the date 1809. The doors of certain dungeons, which had not been used for some years, still remained shut, but the people forced them open. In nearly all of them human bones were found; and among these melancholy remains were, in one dungeon, fragments of the garments of a monk, and his girdle. In some of these dungeons the chimney-shaped airhole was walled up, which is a certain sign of the murder of the prisoner. In such cases the unfortunate victim was compelled to go into the airhole, the lower extremity of which was immediately closed by masonry. Quick lime was afterwards thrown on him, which extinguished life and destroyed the body. In several of these dens of misery, mattresses were found, some old, others almost new; a circumstance which proves, whatever may be said to the contrary, that the Inquisition in these latter times was something more than a scarecrow. The ground on which the palace of the Inquisition stands was covered with private houses before 1755; whence it is plain that the victims who have suffered here must have all been sacrificed within less than sixty years. Besides the dungeons which the people have already visited, there are subterranean vaults, which have not yet been opened." Of the contents of the vaults last mentioned, we have been unable to find any account.

To this horrible account we may add a statement, which is made by the English translator of Llorente's work, that when the Inquisition of Madrid was

thrown open, by order of the Cortes, in 1820, twenty-one prisoners were found in it, not one of whom knew the name of the city in which he was; some had been confined three years, some a longer period, and not one knew perfectly the nature of the crime of which he was accused. One of these prisoners had been condemned, and was to have suffered on the following day. His punishment was to be death by the *Pendulum*. The method of thus destroying the victim was as follows:—The condemned was fastened in a groove upon a table on his back: suspended above him was a pendulum, the edge of which was sharp; and it was so constructed as to become longer with every movement. The wretch saw this implement of destruction swinging to and fro above him, and every moment the keen edge approaching nearer and nearer: at length it cut the skin of his nose, and gradually cut on until life was extinct. Such, it appears, was a specimen of the inventions by which inquisitors disposed of their victims, at a time when they were afraid to celebrate their *autos da fé*.

We subjoin two narratives of the period, the first of which however, does not prove that such cruelty was used in every case with which the holy office dealt.

The case of Mendonca, who was imprisoned in 1802 by the civil power of Lisbon, and after six months' confinement transferred to the care of the holy office of that city, for the pretended crime of freemasonry, has been related by himself at great length, in a narrative which he published at London,

in 1811, and to which he appended the various laws governing the tribunal of the Inquisition in Portugal. Mendonca had been in England, and on his return to Lisbon was arrested by order of the head of the police, who appears to have paid no regard to the laws of the country in which he lived, for Mendonca was kept in secret prisons during six months, despite all his endeavours to have himself brought to trial. While thus imprisoned, he was frequently examined by one or two magistrates, and it was on one occasion broadly hinted by one of these that the object of his examination was to induce him to declare the names of freemasons in Lisbon. This, however, he would not do. He was then transferred to the holy office, where somewhat similar views were expressed by the inquisitor. But a most prominent feature in the questions which Mendonca was required to answer was as to the *amount*, and the *places of deposit*, of the treasure belonging to the body of freemasons. The required information on these points could not be afforded them by the prisoner, inasmuch as, not having been one of the leading men of the body, (by whom the custody of the valuables was usually entrusted to one of their number,) he was unacquainted with the particulars. Though not treated with such barbarity as we have had occasion to describe in other cases, Mendonca had quite enough to bear, during a lengthened imprisonment of four years. Repeatedly, during the first part of this period, he applied to the inquisitor to have some of his clothes sent for, and was as often promised compliance with his request. But months passed by

without the desired indulgence being granted, though at last, by a strong effort of generosity on the part of his judge or judges, *one* coarse shirt was added to the large stock of *one* of which he was already in possession. A long time after this he had his clothes procured for him, but only for the reason that the person with whom he had been lodging at the time of his apprehension could not any longer afford room for them. On the occasion of mentioning this matter, Mendonca was earnestly recommended by the inquisitor to name the persons in whose hands his property was placed, as it would be well that it should be obtained for him, so that he might not lose it! He easily saw the drift of the hypocritical official, which was, to obtain possession of the property for the benefit of the holy office; and he therefore declined imparting the required information, as he could not think of giving his good friends of the holy office so much trouble on his account. An additional reason for refusing to name the persons who held his property was, that by doing so he might possibly endanger their safety, as he felt quite confident that their innocence would be no protection against the machinations of the holy office.

After an imprisonment of four years, he was released, but by what means he does not state.

Our readers will perceive, from the following particulars of the imprisonment of Van Halen, that the holy office was used by the government of Spain for political purposes. Don Juan Van Halen was one of those who combined for the purpose of relieving their country from the tyranny of their rulers. For

his leadership he was arrested, and imprisoned in the Inquisition of Murcia, on the 21st September, 1817, and afterwards transferred to the dungeons of the holy office at Madrid. After his arrival here, he demanded and obtained an interview with Ferdinand, to whom he explained the patriotic views with which he and others had entered upon a secret correspondence; and he claimed to be tried, not by the Inquisition, to whom the cognizance of his crime did not belong, but by a military tribunal, to which he was amenable, as he bore the rank of lieutenant-colonel. The king desired him to explain his views in writing, and to divulge the names of those with whom he was associated; in which case, he would have his case favourably considered. Ferdinand's creatures, however, had too much influence over him, and Van Halen remained in the Inquisition, although two military officers examined him, and thus gave the appearance of a military enquiry. Although the holy office was completely under the dominion of the court, the officials could not allow an enquiry or trial of this description to pass unnoticed, and they did not rest till Van Halen's case was unconditionally submitted to them. He was then conducted to the chamber of audience, and was examined. We shall give the narrative in his own words.

"At seven o'clock, the two jailers came into my dungeon in full dress, and with their swords girded at their waists, preceded by Zorilla, who commanded them to search me. This they did with their usual rudeness; after which the inquisitor ordered me in a haughty manner to follow him. I obeyed in

silence, proceeding through the same passages and stairs that conducted to the saloon where I had attended the military fiscal. Having left this to the right, we entered a larger one, which was the hall of the tribunal, at the farther extremity of which stood a long table on a platform, with the seats of the inquisitors near it, that of the president being under a canopy. On each side of the platform was a door, communicating with a closet; and opposite to it the entrance to the chapel. A large cross, with a palm and a sword transversely placed, bearing this motto, *Exsurge, Domine, et judica causam tuam*, which constitute the arms of the Inquisition, stood in the middle of the table, on which were burning a number of wax lights, a heap of papers lying on a corner of it, where the fiscal took his seat. I did not see any black tapers, neither was the saloon hung with cloth of that colour, as I had heard was the case: all the blackness was concentrated in the hearts of my judges.

“Immediately after entering the hall, I was led to the platform to take the oath, which I did by placing my hand on the cross, (which was laid down on the table for that purpose,) and repeating after the senior inquisitor an immensely long creed, on all the mysteries of the Catholic religion, and on the duties it imposes towards the inferior deities of the earth, &c. The ceremony being concluded, the fiscal ordered me to fall back to the centre of the saloon, where a stool was placed for me, the jailers standing on each side of it.”

The fiscal delivered a long-winded, pompous, art-

fully arranged, and ill-natured oration against the prisoner, and then asked him a number of questions on the subject of his colleagues; after which the long sitting ended by Van Halen demanding an advocate. He was asked whom he would name. He replied by giving the name of an advocate of Madrid, who had known him many years. After the name had been mentioned, the fiscal informed him, in a disappointed tone, (for he imagined the prisoner would name some of his associates,) that the time was not arrived when such a privilege could be granted; and that when it did arrive, he would be restricted in his selection to the three advocates attached to the holy office. Van Halen was then removed to his dungeon, which was moderately comfortable, though ventilation had not been sufficiently considered in its construction.

During his next audience, he observed that the closet door at one side of the hall was not entirely closed, and from a slight noise which he heard, he was satisfied that some one was there, listening to the proceedings. Though some thought that this was the king, Van Halen believes that it was one of his enemies, of the name of Calvo.

On the conclusion of his third audience, he was seized by the jailers, and had his arms bound together, by leather straps, behind his back; and while standing in this painful attitude, he was informed that he would be allowed twenty-four hours to disclose all that he had obstinately concealed; and if, at the expiration of that time, he had not met the requirements of his judges, he would be subjected to the

severe punishments reserved for such cases. His jailers then led him to his cell, and left him for the night, with his arms bound; one of them, more humane than the other, handing him a draught of water before he left. His constrained position, the excitement of his trial, and his inability to obtain a draught of water during the night threw him into a raging fever; in which condition he was next evening carried before his judges, and, on the succeeding night, subjected to the torture. We shall again quote Van Halen's own words.

"At about eight o'clock at night, Don Juanito entered my dungeon with a lantern in his hand, followed by four other men, whose faces were concealed by a piece of black cloth, shaped above the head like a cone, and falling over the shoulders and chest, in the middle of which were two holes for the eyes. I was half asleep, when the noise of the doors opening awoke me, and, by the dim light of the lantern, I perceived those frightful apparitions. Imagining I was labouring under the effects of a dream, I earnestly gazed awhile on the group, till one of them approached, and, pulling me by the leather strap with which my arms were bound, gave me to understand by signs that I was to rise. Having obeyed this summons, my face was covered with a leather mask, and in this manner I was led out of the prison. After walking through various passages on a level with my dungeon, we entered a room, where I heard Zorilla order my attendants to untie the strap. 'Listen with attention,' he then exclaimed, addressing me, 'since you have hitherto

been deaf to the advice which this holy tribunal has repeatedly given you in their spirit of peace, humanity, and religious charity. Propagator of impious and secret societies, established by the heresies of their members to destroy our holy religion and the august throne of our catholic sovereign, you have maintained, for the space of a year, an uninterrupted correspondence with more than two hundred sectarians. You invented a project to form a second ramification, to involve in your plans the most uninformed and incautious classes of the kingdom; you have attempted to deceive his majesty, to whom you spontaneously promised from Murcia to disclose, with religious loyalty, all you knew; and instead of shewing yourself sensible of the unexampled magnanimity with which he condescended to hear you, you did everything in your power to mislead him, hoping to elude the just and deserved rigour of the laws by an accumulation of offences towards the supreme dignity of the altar and the throne; an abominable insult, that constitutes a new crime, in aggravation to those which have already been proved.' After a moment's silence, which I thought was intended for their hearing my reply, he proceeded, with increased energy. 'This holy tribunal has at last recourse to rigour. It will extort from you the truths, which neither the duty of a religious oath, demanded without violence, nor the mild admonitions which have been so often resorted to, in order to induce you to make the desired declarations, have been able to obtain. This evident pertinacity obliges us to use a salutary severity. We judge the

cause of our Divine Redeemer and of our Catholic king, and we shall know how to fulfil the high ministry with which the supreme spiritual and temporal authority has invested us. The most rigorous torments will be employed to obtain from you these truths, or you shall expire in the midst of them. All the charges I have just mentioned in a summary manner must be amply explained,—yes! amply explained!—justice, God, and the king require that it should be so. This holy tribunal will fulfil their duties,—yes!’

“The agitation of the moment permitted me to utter only a few words, which, however, were not listened to, and I was hurried away to the further end of the room, the jailer and his assistants exerting all their strength to secure me. Having succeeded in raising me from the ground, they placed under my arm-pits two high crutches, from which I remained suspended; after which my right arm was tied to the corresponding crutch, whilst the left being kept in a horizontal position, they encased my open hand in a wooden glove extending to the wrist, which shut very tightly, and from which two large iron bars ran so far as the shoulder, keeping the whole in the same position in which it was placed. My waist and legs were similarly bound to the crutches by which I was supported; so that I shortly remained without any other action than that of breathing, though with difficulty. After forty-eight hours, during which my arms had been constantly pinioned, I did not, till this moment, very acutely feel the pain caused by the tightness of the new binding. Having remained

a short time in this painful position, that unmerciful tribunal returned to their former charges. Zorilla, with a tremulous voice, that seemed to evince his thirst for blood and vengeance, repeated the first of those he had just read, namely, whether I did not belong to a society whose object was to overthrow our holy religion and the august throne of our Catholic sovereign? I replied that it was impossible I should plead guilty to an accusation of that nature. 'Without any subterfuge, say whether it is so,' he added in an angry tone. 'It is not, sir,' I replied. The glove which guided my arm, and which seemed to be resting on the edge of a wheel, began now to turn, and with its movements I felt by degrees an acute pain, especially from the elbow to the shoulder, a general convulsion throughout my frame, and a cold sweat overspreading my face. The interrogatory continued; but Zorilla's question of 'Is it so? is it so?' were the only words that struck my ear amidst the excruciating pain I endured, which became so intense that I fainted away, and heard no more the voices of those cannibals. When I recovered my senses, I found myself stretched on the floor of my dungeon, my hands and feet secured with heavy fetters and manacles, fastened by a thick chain, the nails of which my tormentors were still riveting. On this being concluded, the unpleasant mask which obstructed my sight was removed, and I observed that Zorilla and Don Juanito were the only persons that remained in the dungeon. Wishing to stifle, before such hateful witnesses, any expression of pain that might escape me amidst my severe sufferings,

I closed tightly the lapel of my coat with my teeth, but Zorilla, who noticed it, said, loading me with abusive epithets, 'that rage and despair were the only pains I felt.'

"Left by those wretches stretched in the same place, I could have wished that the doors, which closed after them, should never again open. Eternal sleep was all I desired, and all I asked of heaven. 'T was after much difficulty that I dragged myself to my bed. It seemed to me that the noise of my chains would awaken the vigilance of my jailers, whose presence was to me the most fatal of my torments. I spent the whole of the night struggling with the intense pains which were the effects of the torture, and with the workings of my excited mind, which offered but a horrible perspective to my complicated misfortunes. This state of mental agitation, and the burning fever, which was every moment increasing, soon threw me into a delirium, during which I scarcely noticed the operation performed by my jailers, of opening the seams of my coat to examine the state of my arm."

Van Halen remained very ill for a considerable time, during which he was attended by a benevolent doctor, who did not allow him to recover too soon, lest he should be again subjected to the torture. In the course of time he managed to open a communication with a girl, one of the attendants of the house attached to the holy office. The girl, whose name was Ramona, was periodically left to clean his cell, while he removed temporarily to another. By leaving a note in a certain position in the bed clothes,

he succeeded in obtaining a reply, and soon so enlisted the sympathies of the poor girl, that she promised to aid him to escape, provided he would try to effect it when he was not in the custody of Don Marcelino, but in that of his coadjutor Don Juanito. He promised to do so, if possible, and in the meantime, by means of Ramona, who was allowed to leave the building occasionally, communicated with his friends, informed them of his situation, and intimated his intention to escape. He received replies, and had facilities given him for furthering his views. On the appointed night, Don Marcelino, his jailer, entered his dungeon, when Van Halen advanced towards him, extinguished the light, and pushed him into the farthest corner of the dungeon. He then quickly went through the door, which he bolted and locked outside, and groped his way in the dark through the passages, the vociferations of the newly made prisoner echoing through the building. Van Halen, on reaching the third door in the passage, and knowing that it was very strong, and was secured by a ponderous lock of peculiar construction, locked it behind him, and armed himself with the huge key, which Marcelino had most incautiously left in the lock. After losing himself frequently in the long and dark passages, he succeeded in gaining the kitchen of Don Marcelino's house, where he saw Ramona, and bade her farewell. As he was rushing out of the passage leading to the street door, Ramona artfully began to scream as if she had been hurt; and was soon joined by the other females in the house. When he reached the door he met some

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visitors who were about to enter. He upset one of them, and escaped into the street. In the immediate neighbourhood he met many of his friends, who were anxiously awaiting him, and was immediately conducted to a place of safety. He was fortunate in baffling the efforts of his enemies, who strained every nerve to recover the prisoner they had lost; and succeeded in leaving Madrid so soon as he had put the hounds on a false scent, by causing it to be believed that he had already left it.

The noise raised by the females in Don Marcelino's house soon attracted the attention of Don Juanito and the inferior officers of the tribunal. They immediately took precautions for the security of the prisons—that is, shut the stable door after the horse had been stolen—and had Berdeja, one of the inquisitors, sent for. On his arrival, the door of the dungeon in which Marcelino was confined was forced open, and a process verbal of the circumstances drawn up. Marcelino's person was examined, and he was then left in the custody of Juanito. The matter was afterwards examined more at length, and Don Marcelino, for his carelessness in allowing Van Halen to escape, was sentenced to the galleys for ten years, and Ramona, for the imaginary offence of opening the door which led from the house to the dungeons, (Marcelino had left it open, but he did not care to acknowledge it.) was sentenced to perpetual seclusion in a convent.

CHAPTER XII.

WE have already given an extract of Dellon's narrative of his imprisonment at Goa.

Dr. Buchanan visited the Inquisition at that place in the year 1808; and as his own account is most interesting, we shall here insert it.

*“Goa, Convent of the Augustinians,
Jan. 23, 1808.*

“On my arrival at Goa, I was received into the house of Capt. Schuyler, the British resident. The British force here is commanded by Colonel Adams, of his Majesty's 78th regiment, with whom I was formerly well acquainted in Bengal.* Next day I was introduced by these gentlemen to the viceroy of Goa, the Count de Cabral. I intimated to his Excellency my wish to sail up the river to Old Goa,† (where the Inquisition is) to which he

* “The forts in the harbour of Goa were then occupied by British troops (two king's regiments and two regiments of native infantry), to prevent its falling into the hands of the French.”

† “There is Old and New Goa. The old city is about eight miles up the river. The viceroy and the chief Portuguese inhabitants reside at New Goa, which is at the mouth of the river, within the forts of the harbour. The old city, where the Inquisition and the churches are, is now almost entirely

politely acceded. Major Pareira, of the Portuguese establishment, who was present, and to whom I had letters of introduction from Bengal, offered to accompany me to the city, and to introduce me to the archbishop of Goa, the primate of the Orient.

"I had communicated to Colonel Adams, and to the British resident, my purpose of enquiring into the state of the Inquisition. These gentlemen informed me that I should not be able to accomplish my design without difficulty ; since everything relating to the Inquisition was conducted in a very secret manner, the most respectable of the lay Portuguese themselves being ignorant of its proceedings ; and that if the priests were to discover my object, their excessive jealousy and alarm would prevent their communicating with me, or satisfying my enquiries on any subject. On receiving this intelligence, I perceived that it would be necessary to proceed with caution. I was, in fact, about to visit a republic of priests, whose dominion has existed for nearly three centuries ; whose province it was to prosecute heretics, and particularly the teachers of heresy ; and from whose authority and sentence there was no appeal in India.* It happened that

deserted by the secular Portuguese, and is inhabited by the priests alone. The unhealthiness of the place, and the ascendancy of the priests, are the causes assigned for abandoning the ancient city."

* "I was informed that the viceroy of Goa has no authority over the Inquisition, and that he himself is liable to its censure. Were the British government, for instance, to prefer a complaint against the Inquisition to the Portuguese government at

Lieutenant Kempthorne, commander of his Majesty's brig *Diana*, a distant connexion of my own, was at this time in the harbour. On his learning that I meant to visit Old Goa, he offered to accompany me; as did Captain Stirling, of his Majesty's 84th regiment, which is now stationed at the forts. We proceeded up the river in the British resident's barge, accompanied by Major Pareira, who was well qualified, by a thirty years' residence, to give information concerning local circumstances. From him I learned that there were upwards of two hundred churches and chapels in the province of Goa, and upwards of two thousand priests.

"On our arrival at the city, it was past twelve o'clock; all the churches were shut, and we were told that they would not be opened again till two o'clock. I mentioned to Major Pareira, that I intended to stay at Old Goa some days; and that I should be obliged to him to find me a place to sleep in. He seemed surprised at this intimation, and observed that it would be difficult for me to obtain a reception in any of the churches or convents, and that there were no private houses into which I could be admitted. I said I could sleep anywhere; I had two servants with me, and a travelling bed. When he perceived that I was serious in my purpose, he gave directions to a civil officer in that place to clear out a room in a building which had been long uninhabited, and which was

Goa, it could obtain no redress. By the very constitution of the Inquisition, there is no power in India which can invade its jurisdiction, or even put a question to it on any subject."

then used as a warehouse for goods. Matters at this time presented a very gloomy appearance; and I had thoughts of returning with my companions from this inhospitable place. In the meantime, we sat down in the room I have just mentioned, to take some refreshment, while Major Pareira went to call on some of his friends. During this interval, I communicated to Lieutenant Kempthorne the object of my visit. I had in my pocket 'Dellon's account of the Inquisition at Goa;' and I mentioned some particulars. While we were conversing on the subject, the great bell of the cathedral began to toll: the same which Dellon observes always tolls before daylight on the morning of the *auto da fé*. I did not myself ask any questions of the people concerning the Inquisition; but Mr. Kempthorne made enquiries for me; and he soon found out that the Santa Casa, or holy office, was close to the house where we were then sitting. The gentlemen went to the window to view the horrid mansion; and I could see the indignation of free and enlightened men arise in the countenances of the two British officers, while they contemplated a place where formerly their own countrymen were condemned to the flames, and into which they themselves might now suddenly be thrown without the possibility of rescue. . . .

"The day was now far spent, and my companions were about to leave me. While I was considering whether I should return with them, Major Pareira said he would first introduce me to a priest, high in office, and one of the most learned men of the place.

We accordingly walked to the convent of the Augustinians, where I was presented to Josephus a Doloribus, a man well advanced in life, of pale visage, and penetrating eye, rather of a reverend appearance, and possessing great fluency of speech and urbanity of manners. At first sight he presented one of those acute and prudent men of the world, the learned and respectable Italian Jesuits, some of whom are yet found, since the demolition of their order, reposing in tranquil obscurity, in different parts of the East. After half an hour's conversation in the Latin language, during which he adverted rapidly to a variety of subjects, and enquired concerning some learned men of his own church, whom I had visited in my tour, he politely invited me to take up my residence with him during my stay at Old Goa. I was highly gratified with this unexpected invitation; but Lieutenant Kempthorne did not approve of leaving me in the hands of the *inquisitor*. For judge of our surprise, when we discovered that my learned host was one of the inquisitors of the holy office, and second member of that august tribunal in rank, but the first and most active agent in the business of the department. Apartments were assigned to me in the college adjoining the convent, next to the rooms of the inquisitor himself; and here I have been now four days, at the very fountain-head of information, in regard to those subjects which I wished to investigate. I breakfast and dine with the inquisitor almost every day, and he generally passes his evenings in my apartment. As he considers my

enquiries to be chiefly of a literary nature, he is perfectly candid and communicative on all subjects.

“Next day, after my arrival, I was introduced by my learned conductor to the Archbishop of Goa. . . . On the same day I received an invitation to dine with the chief inquisitor, at his house in the country. The second inquisitor accompanied me, and we found a respectable company of priests, and a sumptuous entertainment. In the library of the chief inquisitor I saw a register, containing the present establishment of the inquisition at Goa, and the names of all the officers. On my asking the chief inquisitor whether the establishment was as extensive as formerly, he said it was nearly the same. I had hitherto said little to any person concerning the inquisition, but I had indirectly gleaned much information concerning it, not only from the inquisitors themselves, but from certain priests, whom I visited at their respective convents; particularly from a father in the Franciscan convent, who had himself repeatedly witnessed an *auto da fé*.

“27th January, 1808.

“On the second morning after my arrival, I was surprised by my host, the inquisitor, coming into my apartment clothed in black robes from head to foot; for the usual dress of his order is white. He said he was going to sit on the tribunal of the holy office. ‘I presume, father, your august office does not occupy much of your time?’ ‘Yes,’ answered he, ‘much; I sit on the tribunal three or four days every week.’ I had thought, for some

days, of putting Dellon's book into the inquisitor's hands; for if I could get him to advert to the facts stated in that book, I should be able to learn, by comparison, the exact state of the Inquisition at the present time. In the evening he came in, as usual, to pass an hour in my apartment. After some conversation, I took the pen in my hand, to write a few notes in my journal; and, as if to amuse him while I was writing, I took up Dellon's book, which was lying with some others on the table, and handing it across to him, asked him whether he had ever seen it. It was in the French language, which he understood well. 'Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa,' pronounced he, with a slow, articulate voice. He had never seen it before, and began to read it with eagerness. He had not proceeded far, before he betrayed evident symptoms of uneasiness. He turned hastily to the middle of the book, and then to the end, as if to ascertain the full extent of the evil. He then composed himself to read, while I continued to write. He turned over the pages with rapidity, and when he came to a certain place, he exclaimed, in the broad Italian accent, 'Mendacium, mendacium.' I requested he would mark those passages which were untrue, and we should discuss them afterwards, for that I had other books on the subject. 'Other books,' said he, and he looked with an enquiring eye on those on the table. He continued reading till it was time to retire to rest, and then begged to take the book with him.

"Next morning, after breakfast, we resumed the

subject of the Inquisition. The inquisitor admitted that Dellon's descriptions of the dungeons, of the torture, of the modes of trial, and of the *auto da fé* were, in general, just ; but he said the writer judged untruly of the motives of the inquisitors, and very uncharitably of the character of the holy church ; and I admitted that, under the pressure of his peculiar suffering, this might possibly be the case. The inquisitor was now anxious to know to what extent Dellon's book had been circulated in Europe. I told him that Picart had published to the world extracts from it, in his celebrated work called 'Religious Ceremonies'; together with plates of the system of torture and burnings of the *auto da fé*. I added that it was now generally believed in Europe that these enormities no longer existed, and that the inquisition itself had been totally suppressed ; but that I was concerned to find that this was not the case. He now began a grave narration, to show that the Inquisition had undergone a change in some respects, and that its terrors were mitigated.

"I had already discovered, from written and printed documents, that the Inquisition of Goa was suppressed by royal edict in the year 1775, and established again in 1779. The Franciscan father before mentioned witnessed the annual *auto da fé* from 1770 to 1775. 'It was the humanity and tender mercy of a good King,' said the old father, 'which abolished the Inquisition.' But, immediately on his death, the power of the priests acquired the ascendant, under the queen-dowager, and the tribunal

was established, after a bloodless interval of five years. It has continued in operation ever since. It was restored in 1779, subject to certain restrictions, the chief of which are the two following: 'That a greater number of witnesses should be required to convict a criminal, than were before necessary;' and 'that the *auto da fé* shall not be held publicly, as before; but that the sentences of the tribunal shall be executed privately, within the walls of the Inquisition.'

"In this particular the constitution of the new Inquisition is more reprehensible than that of the old one; for, as the old father expressed it, 'Nunc sigillum non revelat inquisitio.' Formerly, the friends of those unfortunate persons who were thrown into its prison had the melancholy satisfaction of seeing them once a year, walking in the procession of the *auto da fé*; or if they were condemned to die, they witnessed their death, and mourned for the dead. But now they have no means of learning, for years, whether they be dead or alive. The policy of this new mode of concealment appears to be this, to preserve the power of the Inquisition, and at the same time to lessen the public odium of its proceedings in the presence of British dominion and civilisation. I asked the father his opinion concerning the nature and frequency of the punishments within the walls. He said he possessed no certain means of giving a satisfactory answer; that everything transacted there was declared to be 'sacrum et secretum.' But this he knew to be true, that there were constantly captives in the

dungeon : that some of them are liberated after long confinement, but that they never speak afterwards of what passed within the place. He added, that of all the persons he had known, who had been liberated, he never knew one who did not carry about with him the, what might be called, 'mark of the Inquisition :' that is to say, who did not show, in the solemnity of his countenance, or in his peculiar demeanor, or his terror of the priests, that he had been in that dreadful place.

"The chief argument of the inquisitor to prove the amelioration of the Inquisition was, the superior *humanity* of the inquisitors. I remarked that I did not doubt the humanity of the existing officers ; but what availed humanity in an inquisitor ? he must pronounce sentence according to the laws of the tribunal, which are notorious enough : and a *relapsed heretic* must be burned in the flames, or confined for life in a dungeon, whether the inquisitor be humane or not. But if, said I, you would satisfy my mind completely on this subject, *show me the Inquisition*. He said it was not permitted to any person to see the Inquisition. I said that mine might be considered a peculiar case : that the character of the Inquisition and the expediency of its longer continuance had been called in question : that I had myself written on the civilization of India, and might possibly publish some more upon that subject, and that it could not be expected that I should pass over the Inquisition without notice, knowing what I did of its proceedings : at the same time I should not wish to state a single fact without his authority, or, at least,

his admission of its truth. I added, that he himself had been pleased to communicate with me very fully on the subject, and that, in all our discussions, we had both been actuated, I hoped, by a good purpose. The countenance of the inquisitor evidently altered on receiving this intimation, nor did it ever after wholly regain its wonted frankness and placidity. After some hesitation, however, he said he would take me with him to the Inquisition next day. I was a good deal surprised at this acquiescence of the inquisitor, but I did not know what was in his mind.

“28th January, 1808.

“This morning, after breakfast, my host went to dress for the holy office, and soon returned in his inquisitorial robes. He said he would go half an hour before the usual time, for the purpose of showing me the Inquisition. I thought that his countenance was more severe than usual, and that his attendants were not so civil as before. The truth was, the *midnight scene** was still on my mind. The Inquisition is about a quarter of a mile from the convent, and we proceeded thither in our *manjeels*, (a kind of palankeen.) On our arrival at the place, the inquisitor said to me, as we were ascending the steps of the outer stair, that he hoped I should be satisfied with a transient view of the Inqui-

* An uproar in the gallery of the convent one night, which the doctor at first feared might be made by his servants, whom he supposed in the act of being dragged to the dungeons of the holy office; but which in reality arose from the cries of a boy, who believed he had seen a spectre.

sition, and that I would retire whenever he should desire it. I took this as a good omen, and followed my conductor with tolerable confidence.

“He first led me to the great hall of the Inquisition. We were met at the door by a number of well dressed persons, who, I afterwards understood, were the familiars of the holy office. They bowed very low to the inquisitor, and looked with surprise at me. The great hall is the place in which the prisoners are marshaled for the procession of the *auto da fé*. At the procession described by Dellon, in which he himself walked barefoot, clothed with the painted garment, there were upwards of one hundred and fifty prisoners. I traversed this hall for some time with a slow step, reflecting on its former scenes, the inquisitor walking by my side in silence. I thought of the fate of the multitude of my fellow creatures who had passed through this place, condemned by a tribunal of their fellow sinners, their bodies devoted to the flames, and their souls to perdition. And I could not help saying to him, ‘Would not the holy church wish, in her mercy, to have those souls back again, that she might allow them a little further probation?’ The inquisitor answered nothing, but beckoned me to go with him to a door at one end of the hall. By this door he conducted me to some small rooms, and thence to the spacious apartments of the chief inquisitor. Having surveyed these, he brought me back again to the great hall; and I thought he seemed now desirous that I should depart. ‘Now, father, said I, ‘lead me to the dungeons below; I want to see the

captives.' 'No,' said he, 'that cannot be.' I now began to suspect that it had been in the mind of the inquisitor, from the beginning, to show me only a certain part of the Inquisition, in the hope of satisfying my enquiries in a general way. I urged him with earnestness, but he steadily resisted, and seemed to be offended, or rather agitated, by my importunity. I intimated to him plainly that the only way to do justice to his own assertions and arguments, regarding the present state of the Inquisition, was to show me the prisons and the captives. I should then describe only what I saw; but now the subject was left in awful obscurity. 'Lead me down,' said I, 'to the inner building, and let me pass through the two hundred dungeons, ten feet square, described by your former captives. Let me count the number of your present captives, and converse with them. I want to see if there be any subjects of the British government, to whom we owe protection. I want to ask how long they have been here, how long it is since they beheld the light of the sun, and whether they ever expect to see it again. Show me the chamber of torture; and declare what modes of execution or of punishment are now practised within the walls of the Inquisition, in lieu of the public *auto da fé*. If, after all that has passed, father, you resist this reasonable request, I shall be justified in believing that you are afraid of exposing the real state of the Inquisition in India.' To these observations the inquisitor made no reply; but seemed impatient that I should withdraw. 'My good father,' said I, 'I am about to take leave of you,

and to thank you for your hospitable attentions, (it had been before understood that I should take my final leave at the door of the Inquisition,) and I wish always to preserve on my mind a favourable sentiment of your kindness and candour. You cannot, you say, show me the captives and the dungeons; be pleased, then, merely to answer this question, for I shall believe your word:—How many prisoners are there now below, in the cells of the Inquisition?' The inquisitor replied, 'That is a question which I cannot answer.' On his pronouncing these words, I retired hastily towards the door, and wished him farewell. We shook hands with as much cordiality as we could at the moment assume; and both of us, I believe, were sorry that our parting took place with a clouded countenance.

"From the inquisition I went to the place of burning in the *Campo Santo Lazaro*, on the river side, where the victims were brought to the stake at the *auto da fé*. It is close to the palace, that the viceroy and his court may witness the execution; for it has ever been the policy of the Inquisition to make these spiritual executions appear to be the executions of the state. An old priest accompanied me, who pointed out the place and described the scene. As I passed over this melancholy plain, I thought of the pure and benign doctrine which was first preached to India in the apostolic age, and that bloody code which, after a long night of darkness, was announced to it under the same name. And I pondered on the mysterious dispensation which permitted the ministers of the Inquisition,

with their racks and flames, to visit these lands, before the herald of the gospel of peace. But the most painful reflection was, that this tribunal should yet exist, unawed by the vicinity of British humanity and dominion. I was not satisfied with what I had seen or said at the Inquisition, and I determined to go back again. The inquisitors were now sitting on the tribunal, and I had some excuse for returning; for I was to receive from the chief inquisitor, a letter which he said he would give me, before I left the place, for the British resident in Travancore, being an answer to a letter from that officer.

“When I arrived at the Inquisition, and had ascended the outer stairs, the doorkeepers surveyed me doubtingly, but suffered me to pass, supposing that I had returned by permission and appointment of the inquisitor. I entered the great hall, and went up directly towards the tribunal of the Inquisition, described by Dellon, in which is the lofty crucifix. I sat down on a form, and then desired one of the attendants to carry in my name to the inquisitor. As I walked up the hall, I saw a poor woman, sitting by herself, on a bench by the wall, apparently in a disconsolate state of mind. She clasped her hands as I passed, and gave me a look expressive of her distress. This sight chilled my spirits. The familiars told me she was waiting there to be called up before the tribunal of the inquisition. While I was asking questions concerning her crime, the second inquisitor came out, in evident trepidation, and was about to complain of the intrusion, when I informed him I had come back for the letter from

the chief inquisitor. He said it should be sent after me to Goa; and he conducted me with a quick step towards the door. As we passed the poor woman, I pointed to her, and said with some emphasis, 'Behold, father, another victim of the holy Inquisition!' He answered nothing. When we arrived at the head of the great stair, he bowed, and I took my last leave of Josephus a Doloribus, without uttering a word."

In the report for 1823, of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, there is the following passage:—"The city of Goa now presents a remarkable spectacle. Its splendid cathedrals, churches, &c., now stand insulated, as it were, in the country; no remnant existing of that populous city with which they were once surrounded. The Inquisition, well known for its atrocities in the cases of Neves, Dellon, &c., is now mouldering to ruins, without the least prospect of recovery."

Having related the suppression of the Inquisition in Spain, we shall proceed to lay before our readers an account of the recent opening of the prisons of the holy office at Rome. Previous to doing this, it may be stated that the abolition of the holy office in Spain was generally supposed to have been followed by the gradual extinction or disuse of all the tribunals in existence. This, however, was not the fact, as far as the tribunal established at Rome was concerned. It is true that it was supposed to have become for a long time quite inactive; and this opinion was probably either originated or strengthened by the statements of M. Tournon,

who was prefet of the department of Rome from 1810 to 1814.* That gentleman says, that when the French took possession of the eternal city in 1809, they found the prisons of the Inquisition nearly empty; that they had been so for many years before; that there was nothing in the regulations or internal arrangements of the house to show that it had recently been the scene of any cruelty; but that, on the contrary, the comfortable size of the apartments intended for the reception of the prisoners, and their airiness and cleanliness, proved the humanity of those who presided over the establishment. From these circumstances, M. Tournon concluded that the holy office was then neither more nor less than an ecclesiastical tribunal, intended to check any misconduct on the part of the clergy themselves.

Whether M. Tournon's opinions were correct or not, it appears that the rebuilding of the prisons in 1825 was considered necessary; and in the announcement of the fact by a resident of Rome at the time, it was mentioned that the dungeons of the new prisons would be well supplied with light and air;—an observation which would lead to the natural supposition that the cells of the old prisons were not so supplied. From that time till the present year (1849), little or nothing was heard of the holy office at Rome, and it was generally believed that if it existed at all, it was but in name.

The recent revolution at Rome, and the flight of

*See his "*Etudes Statistique*," &c., in 2 vols. Paris, 1831.

the Pope, having placed the power in the hands of the Constituent Assembly, that body decreed the suppression of the holy office, and ordered that the eight fathers of the Dominican order inhabiting the building should retire to the convent called Della Minerva, the chief seat of their order. On their departure, the doors were sealed by the Roman notary Caggiotti; and a keeper of the premises having been appointed, an inventory of the contents was commenced. It having been determined that the building should be prepared for the reception of the civic artillery and the train belonging to it, some alterations were begun, in the course of which human bones were found, and a trapdoor discovered. This led to excavations being made, and further discoveries of human bones. Digging very deep in one vault, a great number of human skeletons were found, some of them so close together, and so amalgamated with lime, that no bone could be moved without being broken. In the roof of another subterranean chamber, a large iron ring, supposed to be used for the infliction of the torture, was found. Along the whole length of the same chamber were found broad stone steps, fastened to the wall; these were probably for the prisoners to sit or recline upon. In another vault was found a quantity of very black rich earth, having mixed with it pieces of decayed animal matter, and human hair of such length as to lead to the belief that it had belonged to women rather than men. Into this vault a trapdoor opened from the examination room above: its use can hardly be mistaken.

Surrounded by the buildings, was a quiet garden, in the middle of which was a bubbling fountain. Around this retreat for sacred meditation, was a low building with grated windows. This was divided into cells, mostly damp and dark, the walls of which were covered with inscriptions, by prisoners. Some of these inscriptions are stated in one account to be dated centuries back. If this statement be true, it would prove that, on the building being re-erected in 1825, some of the cells of the old prison had been left standing. On the walls of one cell was written, "Let us pray to God that the good people may have pity." In another, "Take away oppression, O God." In others, "Too long have I been confined here, at the caprice of calumniators, without admission to the sacraments." "How much have I suffered here." Here, beneath a death's head and cross bones was written, "O, mori." In another place, "Scipio Gaetani: eight years have I been imprisoned here." And in the English language was written in one cell, "Is *this* the christian faith?"

The prisoners found within the building when it was thrown open, were an ecclesiastic and a nun. Of the latter, nothing appears to be known. The former was a bishop named Kasner, who had been imprisoned for upwards of twenty years. He related that he arrived in Rome from the Holy Land, having in his possession papers belonging to an ecclesiastic there. Representing himself as that person, he succeeded in inducing the court of Rome to ordain and consecrate him a bishop. The fraud being afterwards discovered, Kasner, on his way to Palestine,

was arrested and conveyed to the prisons of the holy office, where he expected to have ended his days, less, as he expressed himself, to expiate his own fraud, than the gross blunder of the court of Rome, which had no other means of concealing his character of bishop, as its own absolute laws prevented his being deprived of the dignity.

The inventory of the contents of the lower portion of the building being completed, the vaults and cells were thrown open to the public gaze, in March and April, 1849. The indignation of those who visited the prisons was so excited, that at one time they determined to burn to the ground an edifice which had been the scene of so many horrors; and faggots had actually been thrown into the vaults for the purpose, when a battalion of civic guards marched to the spot, and prevented the contemplated destruction. The upper part of the building was now examined, and it was found to contain principally the chancery, the archives, and three libraries. The chancery contained the papers relating to all the current affairs of the tribunal. From a thorough examination of these, it appeared that the holy office, strictly ecclesiastical in its constitution, had been used by government for temporal and political purposes; that the sacrament of confession had been most disgracefully abused, more especially as regarded women, and had been made subservient not only to political purposes, but to the most abominable licentiousness. It was proved by documents, that the cardinals secretaries of state had written to the officers of the holy office, to procure information as

to the conduct of suspected individuals, both at home and abroad, and to obtain a knowledge of state secrets by means of confession, especially those relating to foreign courts and cabinets. Besides this, the chancery contained an immense mass of information, and innumerable processes on scandalous and obscene subjects, in which the members of regular religious societies were implicated.

The archives at first sight appeared to be quite complete, and to have been untouched; but on examination it appeared that although the labels and cases were all in their places, many had been emptied of their contents. Some imagined that the missing papers had been secreted by the monks, who had been sent to the convent Della Minerva; while others conjectured that they had been burnt. The last supposition assumes much probability, from the fact that, in November, 1848, shortly after the Pope's flight, the civic guard arrived in great haste at the holy office, believing that a fire had taken place, as great clouds of smoke issued from one of the chimneys, and were accompanied by a strong smell of burnt paper. Although the records of many of the most important trials (such as those of Galileo and Giordano Bruno,) were missing, there remained nearly complete a collection of decrees from the year 1549 to our own day. These were divided into volumes, each of which contained the decrees for one year. Of the three libraries found within the walls, one was private property. The other two belonged to the Inquisition; and of these the first was most valuable and rare, as it contained copies of the original

editions of the works of the reformers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The other was not so valuable; it contained copies of recent works, many of the volumes of which had been extracted from the parcels of booksellers at Rome by the *revisori* of the custom house, without making any compensation.

From the manner in which the skeletons found in the vaults of the building were placed, it is evident that they must all have been deposited there since the erection of the present edifice; that is, within the last twenty-four years. We cannot reflect on this fact without at once perceiving, that the death of such a number of human beings as were there deposited is quite inconsistent with any supposition of fair play on the part of the officers of the holy office; and the candid enquirer will be apt to ask himself, "What can this religion be, which tolerates such enormities?"

Since the occupation of Rome by the French, the prisons of the Inquisition appear to have been again used for the incarceration of offenders, for on the morning of the 15th September, 1849, an escape of accused priests is reported to have been effected. Some of these were confined for having acted as regimental chaplains, others for having blessed the Republican troops, and others for somewhat similar offences against ecclesiastical decorum. Those who escaped are variously stated to have numbered from nine to thirteen, and are said to have been very considerably assisted in their escape by some women of the neighbourhood. Some of those within the prison refused to fly, as such an act would be adduced

against them as proof of their guilt. Among these was M. Cazzola, well known as a literary man. A few were confined in reference to pecuniary difficulties in which they had become involved. The escape appears to have been effected through a hole made in the wall; but when a number had fairly got to the outside, the egress of those remaining was effectually stopped by one of their number, who, being a very stout man, jammed himself in the hole so tightly, that his own efforts, even with the assistance of those inside, were wholly insufficient to extricate him. He could be neither pushed forward nor pulled backward; and there he remained till day dawned, and he was re-imprisoned. Two of the French guards are reported to have seen the escape, but, as it had been intimated that there were no prisoners within the building, they did not consider that it lay within the scope of their duty either to watch the building or take any notice of those escaping. We can scarcely regard this as a re-establishment of the Inquisition in Rome. It is pretty evident that some of the prisoners confined within the building were not charged with crimes coming under the cognisance of the holy office; and it is probable, therefore, that its prisons have, as a matter of convenience, been appropriated for the confinement of criminals not amenable to its laws.

And yet, the recent imprisonment of Dr. Giacinto Achilli, at Rome, gives some colour to the supposition that the Inquisition is not yet entirely suppressed. It became known in August, 1849, that Dr. Achilli, who had seceded from the Romish

and attached himself to the Protestant church, and had, since the flight of the Pope from Rome, been actively occupied in preaching, and distributing copies of the Scriptures among its inhabitants, had been apprehended on the 30th July, by three persons in plain clothes, who falsely represented themselves to be authorised by the French prefect, but who were in reality agents of the holy office; that he had been conveyed to the castle of St. Angelo (*not* to the prisons of the holy office); and that his imprisonment was attributed to his industry in circulating the Bible. On these circumstances being authenticated, a deputation from the British organization of the Evangelical Alliance waited upon Lord Palmerston, the secretary for foreign affairs, who, from the interest which he took in the case, led the deputation to expect that he would use his friendly offices with the French government, to effect Dr. Achilli's release. But, that no effort might be spared, the council of the Alliance at the same time addressed a memorial to the French government, setting forth the circumstances of the case, and calling upon it to interfere. A reply to this application has just been received, from which it appears that the Roman government has refused to liberate the prisoner, and has forwarded to M. de Tocqueville a despatch, containing charges against Dr. Achilli, of matters alleged to have occurred previous to his ordination as a priest of the church of Rome—that is to say, upwards of twenty years ago,—and not for distributing the Scriptures. No one can well doubt that the charges referred to have

been made for the purpose of misleading the world as to the real reasons for his imprisonment, and that unless some change in the political horizon occur, or a sufficient amount of influence be brought to bear upon the three cardinals who are exercising the functions of the Pope during his absence, Dr. Achilli will run great hazard of undergoing a lengthy imprisonment, accompanied possibly by personal violence, less for his alleged crimes upwards of twenty years ago, than for daring, within the precincts of the eternal city, to extend the knowledge of the word of God.

The fact of Dr. Achilli having been imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, instead of in the cells of the holy office, does not relieve the Inquisition of the odium attached to the affair, for the spirit of that tribunal is manifest in the circumstances of the case; and it is to be presumed, that those ordering the arrest have seen sufficient reason in the political condition of the city, or in other circumstances, to change the place of incarceration. There seems every probability of the re-establishment of the Inquisition at Rome, in full vigour, in the event of the return of the Pope; but that it will exist for any considerable period, can scarcely be anticipated; such acts as the imprisonment just related will speedily work their own cure.

Having related the partial abolition of the horrible tribunal whose history has been the subject of this volume, it remains that we take a hasty glance at its characteristic features. In doing so, it will not be necessary to consider the system apart from the

agents by whose exertions that system was carried out, as they are too thoroughly identified with each other to be usefully subjected to separate examination. First, then, let it be said that the system and the men have proceeded on principles of the blindest superstition and fanaticism; next, that all the proceedings of the holy office have been characterised by the sternest injustice, and the most consummate contempt of all fairness. More than this, there has, throughout its history, been a total absence of all chivalrous and generous feeling, and such a disregard of relationship and friendship, as makes it evident that those who could be guilty of such acts as were commonly perpetrated in the Inquisition, must have had all moral dignity crushed and destroyed within them. The paltry cowardice and venomous bitterness which have characterised those connected with the Inquisition, must call forth the indignation of all possessed of proper feeling. Further than this, the cruelties of which they have been guilty, the excruciating tortures which they have inflicted, the deaths which they have caused, the loneliness and misery of thousands of families whom they have bereaved of their natural protectors, raise up in the mind a picture at once so ghastly and horrible as to make even those of strong nerves shudder. Let us add, that their licentious and brutal conduct towards the female sex is a trait in their character which has recoiled most severely on the church which has not only *permitted* but *caused* it.

The question naturally arises, Was there no common cause for these manifestations—no common source to which they might all be traced? We reply, Yes; and that cause and that source has been the Church of Rome. Her errors, her superstitions, her bigotry, her tyranny, cruelty, and knavery have been already so fully exposed, that, beyond the instances which have been given in the narratives in this volume, it will be unnecessary to illustrate them here. Let us, however, say this, that the cruelties of which the officials of the various tribunals have been guilty have been in no small degree owing to the extraordinary training which many of them have undergone, previous to admission to the priesthood. That an education and training which should crush all the best feelings of our nature should have been common in the Romish church during the fifteen, sixteenth, or seventeenth centuries, is a circumstance which need excite no surprise; but that such a system should be practised in the nineteenth century is indeed astonishing. Yet such appears, on good evidence, to be the fact.* Young men, who may have hastily and unadvisedly commenced their studies for the priesthood, appear to have no retreat. Go on they must—priests they must become—their feelings of attachment to their relatives and friends must be crushed—

* Those who are sceptical of this fact are referred to "A Narrative of Iniquities and Barbarities practised at Rome in the Nineteenth Century;" by Raffaele Ciocci. Nisbet and Co., London, 1844.

their understandings must be crippled and confined, lest they should soar beyond the proper bounds; and all the best qualities which adorn the *Man* must be uprooted and destroyed. Such may not be the case in *Britain* at the present time, but that it is, or lately was, so in *Italy*, is proved beyond all doubt.

But it is more with the Church of Rome of past days than of to-day that we have to deal. Briefly, then; it is clear that the system on which the Inquisition was based was originated and upheld by the Romish church; that it was by members of that church that the system was carried out; that it was in the name of that church that all its injustice and cruelty was perpetrated; and that it was only on conversion to the doctrines of that church that the condemned criminal was saved from the faggot. Let it not be supposed, however, that we are uncompromising enemies of the Church of Rome, as it at present exists. On the contrary, we see that it possesses many features which might with great advantage be imitated by Protestants; while its errors and excesses should be avoided. It is against its spirit of persecution, its bigotry and superstition, as exemplified by the narratives in this volume, that we wage war; it is against its knaveries and deceptions that we protest; it is for the reformation of its abuses that we plead. Wherever persecution lifts its head, it is the duty of the best friends of humanity to unite and crush it, whether it be among the members of the Roman or the Protestant churches. Let not any body of men say to them-

selves, that persecution is confined to the church of Rome. It is unhappily far from being so. Recent events, as well as the history of the past, show that it is a wide spread pestilence, which requires continual watching and checking.

It is gratifying to reflect, however, that the spirit of persecution can never obtain such influence as it once possessed. The very nature of things makes it certain that the Inquisition can never again be revived. It is true that the spirit which animated it is not dead, but sleeps—that the serpent is not killed, but wounded. But the intelligence of the age, the humanity of the civilization which is spreading, and the enlightened views which are beginning to animate even the more ignorant throughout the world, point to the day when even the feeling of persecution shall cease to exist. That all classes and all religious bodies will be induced to unite in effecting its destruction, is to be hoped for and anticipated. All must lend their aid to the work, according to their ability, for all possess a certain power, which they may render available in the cause. Some may do their part by shewing the incompatibility of persecution with true christianity, by urging the employment of milder means for the propagation of the true faith, and by practising that charity and forbearance which are its greatest ornaments; while others may do noble service by proving, from the records of the past, that persecution has never been *ultimately* beneficial to any cause which has espoused it, however good that cause may in itself have been, however powerfully it may have been supported, or

whatever dexterity and talent may have been employed in the endeavour to bring it to a successful conclusion.

THE END.

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